From U.N.C. Durham

AN

ANNUAL PUBLICATION

OF

Historical Papers.

GOVERNOR W. W. HOLDEN AND REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENTS.

Published by the Historical Society of Trinity College,

DURHAM, N. C.

SERIES III.

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

1899.

PRICE, FIFTY CENTS.

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ERRATA.

There are many typographical errors in these articles, due to the negligence of the proof-reader, and for which the publisher of these PAPERS is not responsible. The most serious are as follows:

Page 43, second paragraph, read *teachings* for backings.

Page 55, read *Cantwell* for Cantley.

Page 75, second paragraph is by the author, not a quotation. It should be preceded by

II.—CAVALRY DEPRADATIONS.

Page 128, read *old aristocracy* for only aristocracy.

N. B.—Under the arrangement with the *Trinity Archive* by which these PAPERS are issued, it has not been possible to make all the parts of certain papers run consecutively.

Historical Papers.

SERIES 3.

JOHN JOSEPH BRUNER, EDITOR OF THE WATCHMAN.

R. L. FLOWERS.

To write anything like an extended and accurate sketch of the lives of the men who were prominent in journalism in this State during the first half of the century, and also during the period of war, and the days of the reconstruction would be to write a history of the progress of the State. It is very probable that no other class of men had a greater influence upon public sentiment. It is the object in this sketch to deal very briefly with the life of one of the veteran editors, one who for more than half a century exerted a wide influence upon the life of the State, and especially of the western portion of it—Mr. J. J. Bruner, editor of the *Carolina Watchman*. If time permitted, it might be interesting to picture somewhat the condition of the State during the first half of the century, politically and socially, and to write solely the editorial life of a journalist would require this. An examination of the files of the *Watchman* during the time of Mr. Bruner's connection with it would reveal great changes in the conditions of the country. When the *Watchman* was started there was not a single daily paper in the State, and no paper published in the State west of Salisbury. The *Watchman* of 1840, contains an advertisement of the "Great Western Stage Line" leaving Salisbury at 5 o'clock, a. m., one day, and arriving at Asheville at 8 p. m., the next, a journey of 39 hours, which for "speed could not be surpassed." The advertise-

ment included a picture of the stage coach and horses. A few years later, great improvement was made and now the paper contains a picture of the engine and coaches used on the North Carolina Railroad, and the schedule shows that the public could travel at the incredible speed of ten miles an hour. "Many people were afraid to ride at this rapid transit." These pictures are reproduced in Dowd's Life of Prominent Living North Carolinians" given there for the reason they are referred to in this paper, to show somewhat the differences in the condition of an editor then and now. There were no telegraphic dispatches and the circumstances which confronted an editor were very different from those of this day of rapid transit, and telegraphic news.

Mr. Bruner died in 1890, being at the time the oldest editor in the State and the editor of the oldest paper. He belonged to the old school of editors, such as Edward J. Hall, ex-Governor Holden, Wm. J. Yates and others.

The issue of the *Watchman*, of March 27, 1890, is a memorial number, and many of the points of this paper are taken from the extended article by Dr. J. Rumple, for many years his pastor, and still pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Salisbury. The writer said: "The *Watchman* to-day comes out without the name of J. J. Bruner, who for fifty-one years has shaped its course as associate editor, editor and proprietor, and it is due the public that the account of his life and labors should be published. It is impossible to estimate the influence such a man in such a position, and for such a length of time has exerted upon the thinking and action of his constituency. Of him one thing may be said, the *Watchman* never gave forth an uncertain sound, but faithfully and fearlessly watched over the interests of the people and administered the claims of justice and virtue, in high places and in low. The town and country have been benefitted, and not injured by his life, for it was his constant aim to do good."

John Joseph Bruner was the son of Henry and Edith

Bruner, and was born on the Yadkin River, in Rowan county, 12th March 1817. When he was a little over two years old his father died and his mother returned with her children to the home of her father, Col. West Harris, of Montgomery county, North Carolina. His educational advantages were very meagre. In 1825, he was brought to Salisbury by Hon. Chas. Fisher, and his first year in his new home was spent in school, his teacher being Henry Allemand. When he had grown up, he attended school for a few months. The remainder of his education was due to his own efforts, and was received largely "at the case and press of a printing office."

When he was nine years old he entered the printing office as an apprentice under Col. Philo White, editor of the *Western Carolinian*.

Colonel. White sold the paper to Burton Craig in 1830, and it was edited by Mr. Craig until 1834, when the paper was bought by Maj. John Beard, of Florida. Mr. Bruner continued in the office until 1836.

In 1832 the *Watchman* was started by Hamilton C. Jones, and in 1839, Mr. Bruner became a partner in the paper.

The *Watchman* of October 1888, contains a history of the paper, written by the editor. It is written in a plain, unassuming style and in his own words gives a history of the paper better than any one else could do.

"This number of the *Watchman* finishes the present volume of the paper and presents a fitting occasion to take a glance at the past history.

The first copy of the *Carolina Watchman* was issued on July 28, 1832, by the late Hamilton C. Jones, Esq., as its editor and proprietor. The design of its establishment was to combat the nullifaction movement of that time started in South Carolina under the inspiration of John C. Calhoun and other distinguished Statesmen of the Commonwealth. The late Hon. Burton Craig, was the editor of the *Western Carolinian*, published in this place, and was a

zealous advocate of the views Mr. Calhoun; and his vigorous editorials were producing a rousing influence in Western North Carolina, which alarmed Unionists and induced active opposition on their part to the spread of the violent remedy proposed by the South Carolina movement and the establishment of the *Watchman* was the result. Mr. Jones continued to publish the paper for several years after the settlement of the exciting question which gave it birth, ending his connection with it on the 28th July, 1839, by a sale and transfer of the printing office, subscription list and good-will to Mace C. Pendleton and J. J. Bruner. Under the firm name of Pendleton & Bruner, the paper was continued for three years, at the end of which time the Junior partner withdrew for the purpose of collecting a considerable amount due the firm, and paying off occumulated debts. This was accomplished in the course of eighteen months, during which time the paper was continued under the management of the late Mr. Pendleton as editor and proprietor. But finding the business more difficult than he could well bear he sold out to J. J. Bruner, and the late Samuel W. James in January 1844. Under the firm name of Bruner & James, the *Watchman* had a successful run of six years, to July 28, 1850. Mr. James then sold his interest to the present proprietor and drew out, since which time there has been no change in the ownership of the office.

Stoneman's raiders had possession of the office while here on the 12th and 13th April, 1865, and after printing an army news sheet, turned the office upside down, wrecked the principal press and destrowed all they well could. Upon the arrival of the Federal army after the surrender, the commander took possession of it, detailed printers from the army to gather up type enough to print a daily army news sheet, and held possession until about the 4th of July. When at last they turned over the shattered establishment to the owner, he commenced the work

of repairing it, which occupied him until January 8, 1866, at which time the publication of the *Watchman* was resumed. But it had only a brief run of eight weeks when the fire broke out in C. F. Baker's tin shop, (February 26) and extending to other buildings near by finally reached the *Watchman* office and destroyed about half of the stock and reduced the paper to a half-sheet. In this form it was published for twenty-three weeks, until a new press and material could be obtained to issue a full sheet.

On the 10th of January, 1868, the *Watchman* (as an experiment thought advisable at the time) was consolidated with the *Old North State* as was run under the name of *Watchman and Old North State.* [The *Old North State* was a weekly paper started here in 1866 by the Hon. Lewis Hanes.] This arrangement continued only one year when by an arrangement with Mr. Hanes in respect to the business of the office, the *Watchman* retired, leaving the entire field to Mr. Hanes, who in January 1869, changed the name and re-established the *Old North State.* Mr. Hanes continued to publish his paper in the *Watchman* office until the 15th of September 1871, (one year and nine months) and then sold out his interest, J. J. Bruner becoming the purchaser, who immediately re-established his old paper the *Watchman*, and has continued it without a break to the present day.

Before the war the *Watchman* was a Whig paper, and remained so until Lincoln's proclamation came out, calling on the state for troops to coerce the seceding states. It was then devoted to the Confederate cause and zealously supported it during the war. After the war it most naturally took sides with the Conservative party, which embraced both old Whigs and old Democrats, and which after a while, dropped the name "Conservative" and adopted "Democratic" as being more expressive of the political character of those ranging under it.

Nearly all the white people of the South—without re-

gard to the old party names before the war, united in forming the Democratic party after the war, and this paper had no other home to go to.

The paper has been self-sustaining. It has had no other reliance than the patronage of the public, and it has been constantly devoted to what its editor believed to be the best interests of the people. It has doubtless erred at times in judgment. Certainly it has offended individuals and parties, and had to sustain loss by it. But these were never of disturbing importance, but passed as a trifling ripple on the current of its onward way. It has had not less than fifty competitors since its commencement, and some of these very ably conducted—a few deliberately designed to supplant it. Its proprietor is profoundly sensible of the favor by which it has been sustained under every trial, and feels an increasing weight of obligation to make the paper acceptable to those who have stood by it through all the changes and vicissitudes of the past.

Capt. S. A. Ashe, a man for many years prominent in journalism, in a letter to the writer, says:

When I came to Raleigh to live Mr. Bruner was living at Salisbury, and I met him only once or twice. My recollections of him are not so vivid as if our personal intercourse had been more intimate: but I recall—that he had my perfect respect, because of his integrity of character and high purposes in life. In addition, I remember that I entertained very kind, personal sentiments towards him—and this because he himself was kindly in his disposition, (and also because, I think, he had ever been been of the same political faith as my father—an old line Democrat).

As I now recall his editorials, they were noteworthy for their simplicity, clearness and precision of statement.

As an editor, Mr. Bruner wielded a great influence throughout the Northwestern section of the state. His paper was almost the sole vehicle of political information throughout that region for years; and the esteem in which he was personally held invested his paper with an influence that otherwise would have been lacking. For many years he was a potent factor in state affairs, though he did not aspire to leadership and control. Indeed, my observation has been that when an editor seeks to realize ambitions, he loses the influence that the public accords him while his efforts are regarded as being merely patriotic, not mingled with personal considerations. Mr. Bruner pursued the even tenor of his way, not seeking political distinction, and so wore well: to the last highly esteemed and justly venerated.

Hon. Theo. Kluttz, of Salisbury, for many years a personal friend of Mr. Bruner, writes:

I knew Mr. Bruner well, and was a constant reader of the "*Watchman*" for many years. He was a man of sterling worth, and was possessed of the highest moral courage. As an editor, he belonged to the old fashioned school of which the elder Hale, and Mr. Yates, of the Charlotte *Democrat*, were bright exemplars. Under his control, the *Watchman* was always carefully, conscientiously, and cleanly edited. While neither a profound nor a voluminous editorial writer, he had positive views and convictions on all important subjects, and these he never failed to present fearlessly, tersely, and interestingly. There was never any doubt where he stood, nor was there ever any doubt about the absolute honesty of his convictions. For many and many a year, his editorial utterances shaped and voiced the political feeling and action of his subscribers. Modest, unassuming, usually busily engaged upon the mechanical make-up of his paper, in which he took great pride, he yet had the courage of his convictions, and every disposition to stand by them, as occasional dissentients found to their sorrow.

He served his day and generation well.

I should like to give extracts from many papers after his death, showing the high esteem in which he was held by his associates in journalism, but this paper is already too long. I shall close by giving an extract from the paper read by Mr. Jerome Dowd, Historian of the Press of North Carolina, at the annual meeting in Durham in 1890.

The moral tone of the *Watchman* was always good. A self educated man, Mr. Bruner was wanting in the versatility and rhetorical powers that go to make up the brilliant editor, but his teachings were sound, and he always expressed himself with clearness and force. He was a man of courage and stability. In his private walks he was an exemplary man, a devout christian, and an upright, modest citizen. His life was one long day of trial and struggling. What little schooling he had was paid for out of his own earnings. Although journalism in North Carolina has never been very remunerative, Mr. Bruner made a success of his paper, and at one time had accumulated a considerable amount of property, but the war swept most of it away. Considering his environments, we cannot but pronounce his work in life well done. Few men in the history of North Carolina have accomplished as much with such poor advantages. Beginning the battle of life at the age of nine years, without money or the protecting arm of a father, he grew up to be as a "banyan of the forest, yielding shade and fruit to wide neighborhoods of men."

In 1842, Mr. Bruner was married to Miss Mary Anne Kincaid. He had a large family of children, five of whom survive him.

He was a member of the Presbyterian church, and was faithful in all his "private and public duties of the christian profession."

THE DIARY OF A CONFEDERATE REFUGEE.

J. A. S.

In the latter part of the summer of 1896 Mrs. Hellen Clements, of Williamston, N. C., very kindly presented to the Trinity College Historical Society the diary which her father, Mr. D. W. Bagley, kept during the war. This diary is of great interest and value as a record of the movements of the opposing forces, battles, etc., kept by a close observer intensely interested in the struggle, and especially on account of the insight it gives into the lives of those compelled to flee from their homes and seek a refuge from the enemy outside their own neighborhood.

In April, 1861, a meeting was held in the Court House at Williamston to take into consideration the defenseless condition of the county. It was decided to raise money to equip volunteer companies from the county, and to provide for the families of those who volunteered. Of this "Volunteer Fund" Mr. Bagley was elected treasurer. In his diary he entered the names of all who volunteered, and started out with the intention of making a note of the fate and conduct during the war of every soldier who went from Martin county, but during a spell of typhoid fever, which lasted through the summer of 1862, he lost sight of many of them. On account of his outspoken patriotism and zeal in the cause of the Confederacy he was an object of especial hatred to the "human skunk tories," as he calls them, and when the Yankees entered Williamston for the first time, in July, 1862, he was the first man they enquired for. He

had left the town, however, with his family and three servants, having to get up from a bed of sickness to do so. Every house from which the whites had fled was searched, but none so thoroughly as his. He says: "They searched every nook and corner of my house, stole my brandy, broke open bureaus, scattered everything, broke open my office, broke windows, pulled out iron chest and searched for records, letters, etc., got open old papers, and scattered them and other papers over the floor." Mr. Bagley was persuaded to leave by his friends, for it was thought he would be arrested and carried off in spite of his ill health. He had determined not to leave, but thinking they would shell the town, and knowing he could be of no service, he "left, not caring a straw for what little I had left, so we could get an equivalent in vandal blood." On the last day of the month the town was again entered by the enemy. Before the landing the town had been shelled, though no one was hurt by it, and the shells had driven many women and children on foot two or three miles in the country, through the rain that was then falling, and many were wet through and exhausted when they reached a place of safety. He often breaks out bitterly against the "tories," those "white-livered native scoundrels," who were the worst enemies. "Oh, God," he writes, "grant us a Morgan, Jackson, Ashby, or some such spirit with a united people to free us of such mean, vile, and abandoned creatures, who are a disgrace to our species, whose element seems to be among the negroes whom they outrage, strange as it may appear to polite, patriotic, and enlightened men."

Three days after the second entrance into the town the commissioners met and requested Captains Eure and Adams to withdraw their troops from the town, as their presence did more harm than good, giving, as it did, excuse to the enemy for shelling the place.

At the solicitation of his wife and friends he decided to leave Williamston and go to some place where he would be

more safe from capture and freer from annoyance. Secured a house about half a mile from depot at Rocky Mount, and left for his new home September 3, 1862. And now troubles and privations that they had not known before begin for him and his family. Unfortunately the man to whom the house he was renting belonged was an unprincipled scoundrel, and did everything in his power to make life unpleasant for the refugees whose dependence upon him for supplies placed them almost entirely at his mercy. He not only charged enormous prices for what he grudgingly let them have, but did everything in his power to annoy them. December, 1863, having been swindled out of $400 or $500 by his landlord that year, and despairing of getting along with him, he decides to move, which he does December 26, to "Shady Retreat," Nash county, about four miles from Rocky Mount. Three families—his own, Mr. Short's, and Mr. Clements', occupied the same house, twenty-nine people in all. This move he especially regrets, because it deprives him of the pleasure of going to the depot and occasionally meeting old friends and seeing passing soldiers. The difficulty of getting provisions now becomes a serious matter. Mr. Short often travels day after day, over rough roads, through rain and all kinds of weather, without being able to buy anything whatever. They have a certificate of need from a government agent, but it does not avail;—they, the refugees, are turned away empty-handed, while others can buy. Mr. Short succeeds in getting a little here, a little there, but starvation seems at times to stare them in the face.

January 6, 1864, he writes: "Flour passed here to-day for which I offered $100 per barrel, but was told it was for government use and was to be delivered to —— at Rocky Mount, and that it was worth $150 at Warrenton, from whence he had brought his two loads, all of which I have no doubt is a speculator's lie." The next day, January 7, Mr. Short had better success than he had met with in some

time. "Mr. Short engaged to-day 600 to 800 pounds of green pork at $2.00 per pound. Such a thing has become a curiosity to us to see, to say nothing of eating." Some times they could not get supplies that they had engaged. January 23, 1864, he writes: "Sent to Mr. Battle's mill for meal to-day, and, notwithstanding the fact that they had engaged to supply us, could not get any. I then sent to Watson's mill, four miles the other way, but could get none, so to-morrow we shall be without bread, as we have been without hog meat." Many went over to the lines of the enemy on account of inability to get food, but this they could not think of doing.

While all this is vividly brought out, we feel that the mention of the difficulty of their getting supplies is only by the way, and that the deepest concern of the writer is about the poor soldiers at the front. Added to the difficulty of getting supplies was the difficulty of keeping them after they were gotten, for numbers of rogues were prowling about, and nothing was safe. He often writes bitterly of the extortioners and speculators fattening on the very life-blood of their country, utterly indifferent to her welfare, and caring for nothing save the almighty dollar—"blindly worshiping the Golden Calf," and the farmers raising cotton and tobacco while soldiers were suffering for food.

Mr. Bagley kept posted as well as he was able upon every movement, especially any movement of the Martin county troops, and commented freely upon the situation from time to time. In October, 1863, hearing of an order to remove to Charleston the 17th regiment, composed of soldiers from Martin, Washington, Edgecombe, and adjoining counties, who, on account of familiarity with the country, were especially suited for duty there, he wrote to Colonel David A. Barnes to use his influence with Governor Vance to have the order countermanded. Colonel Barnes replied in a few days, saying that he had laid the matter

before the Governor, who manifested much solicitude for that section, and promised to do at once what he could, "Which is immense if he does," says Mr. Bagley, "as the Secretary of War will hear with more attention what our chivalrous Governor says than he would what a brigade of citizens could say." Under date September 15, 1863, he gives a summary of the things the South has to contend with.

"We have to contend with:

"The wet-blanket set of timid creatures.

"The croakers, with whom all is wrong.

"The money dealers, who take pleasure in producing panic with the solvency and faith of the Government.

"The fence men, who are waiting to see who is strongest.

"The extortioner, who holds back supplies from the soldiers, their families and people, to extort fabulous prices, and has no good word, act, or deed for any but self.

"The speculator in necessaries, who would sink a continent to make money, and nerves himself against the wants of army and people, and expects to be able after the war shall end to buy himself a place among the people and in society.

"The open repudiator of money, cause, President, cabinet and country. (Chief among whom he places William Holden, of Raleigh, editor of the *Standard*, at whose door he lays the death of many a poor, ignorant fellow, who, deceived by the false ideas he disseminated, deserted, only to be captured and made to suffer a shameful death.)

"The open tories, native and foreign born, who have acted as spies, guides, informers, aiders and abettors, urging on the enemy to outrages we should in many instances have escaped but for them.

"The tobacco and cotton growers who turn a deaf ear to the heart-rending appeals from the loyal press throughout the land on the score of humanity, as well as the cause in which we are engaged.

"The skulkers and deserters, to whose faithlessness many of our defeats have no doubt been due.

"The inability of commanders who should be in the ranks.

"The want of a navy and access to the markets of the world.

"The want of recognition by the maritime powers of the world.

"The fact that the enemy is fighting us with foreigners.

"The disparity in numbers.

"Many of our poor dupes taking the oath to support the Lincoln government, induced by the seductive promises of the enemy, afterwards to find themselves dispoiled and despised by them.

"The contemptible blockade, which has done more to discourage, inflate prices, injure the currency, and demoralize army and people than any other one thing."

During the last two years of the war he often alludes to the alarming depravity and greediness, so remarkably different from the prayerful devotion and sacrifice of the first two years. Wrote bitterly at times of those who advised any concessions to the enemy. At one place he says: "May a kind heaven grant us an eternal separation from them. We have had no real peace with them. We have been subject to insult and injury for many years, until further forbearance was out of the question. I had rather see all sunk into a dead sea than again be reconciled with the Yankee fanatical race." Governor Vance's utterances during the last year of the war were a source of deep regret to him. Says Vance's message to legislature in 1864 falls far short of former utterances, from a patriotic standpoint. "He panders too much to the Stephens, Brown, Holden and Company's principles. . . It seems to me to be preposterous to be harangueing for State's rights when we have no States." April 26, 1864, he writes: "I read to-day from the *Express* with deep

regret a report of Governor Vance's last speech at Fayetteville. It falls very far short of his Wilkes county speech in patriotism and consistency. He joins with Governor Brown and Vice-President Stephens, and more or less with Holden, of North Carolina, as shadowed forth in their abuse of the late acts of Congress, and shows himself to be more egotistical than I had hoped for. I had feared for him and truly hope he may have been misrepresented in his views. I cannot express my sorrow at seeing such men as him and Stephens at a time like the present straining at straws and giving the enemy renewed encouragement. Stephens and Brown I feel done with, but hope on still for Vance. I have long supported him with all my heart,—say from the reading of his first political letter over two years ago." Though it was partly through his fearless advocacy of some of the things for which Mr. Bagley condemns him that Vance won distinction as the War Governor of the South, it is interesting to note the view taken of the course he pursued by patriotic men who had at first been his loyal supporters. He thinks, too, that the Governor acted very strangely towards Martin county, "she having done more, probably, than any other county in the State in sending men, raising equipments, etc., etc." Here he gives a list of the companies furnished by his county. "When the 34th Regiment was recalled it had a powerful feeling of depression upon every one. Each looked upon the move as saying to us, 'You are given up by a decree in council of your rulers. Be content therewith, and send your able-bodied men to the defense of a more valuable section and people.'" Mr. Bagley, however, rejoices greatly at Vance's victory over Holden in 1864, and records with deep regret the names of the few men of his acquaintance who sank so low as to vote for Holden.

He often mentions Jackson in terms of highest praise,

and dates all of our heavy losses and gloomy prospects from the "loss by death of that great man, Gen. Jackson."

During an assault on Charleston a Martin county boy was shot in the thigh and crawled back about two hundred yards to our fortifications and called for his Lieutenant, who heard and called for volunteers to go and bring him in. "Whereupon very readily offered and did go and brought him safely without injury, except the loss of his pants, which were shot off of him!" Curious how a fellow could come from under fire *sans* pantaloons, with hide intact.

Here is a clipping from a newspaper pasted in the diary, showing how the soldiers amused themselves at times in camp:

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE REBEL BAND.

MEMBERS OF THE TROUPE.

Captain William Biggs, Manager; Lieutenants G. W. Grimes, William Cherry, W. E. Windley, J. M. Sitterson, M. A. Cotton, A. T. Staton; Sergeants T. A. Cotten, James Keith, L. Haughton, Mr. Edmondson.

PROGRAMME.

PART FIRST.

Overture Company.
I'll Love Thee as Long as I Live Windley.
Gal of "Old Virginny" Sitterson.
Instrumental Company.

PART SECOND.

Mollie Ward, ballad Sitterson.
Lucy Long Polka, ... M. A. Cotten, Grimes, Sitterson.
Jonnie's Gone for a Soldier Keith.
Powers of Music, ... Sitterson, G. A. Cotten.
Violin Solo Cherry.
Comic Keith.
Band of Brothers Company.

PART THIRD.

Overture Company.
Gum-tree Canoe Sitterson.
Aunty Dinah Windley.
New Blue Tail Fly Sitterson.
Instrumental Company.

PART FOURTH.

Comic Song Keith.
Old Farmer's Bridle, ... Sitterson, Edmondson.
Jig Dancers Cotten & Brother.
Nigger Wat Spouts Sitterson.
Dental Surgeon, ... Cotten, Sitterson, Grimes.
Stump Speech Sitterson.

To Conclude with the Grand Drama,

Old Abe Outwitted Company.

Performance to commence . . . o'clock, P. M. preezackley.

ROBERT HENRY'S NARRATIVE.*

BY ROBERT HENRY.

I will proceed to point out and correct some of the errors in Wheeler's History of North Carolina, so far as respects the transactions of Cornwallis crossing Cowan's Ford, on Catawba River, the 1st of February, 1781. Then I will give my own version of that transaction; then I will give the common report of the transaction shortly after it happened.

Wheeler's History pp. 232–'33: "Here" (meaning at Cowan's Ford) "about six hundred militia under General Davidson

*Robert Henry, the author of this manuscript, was born in Tryon (now Lincoln) county, February 10, 1765. He went to a medical and law school at Columbia, South Carolina, and after being there three years he settled in Buncombe county, N. C., being one of the pioneer settlers of that county. He wrote this manuscript in the latter part of his life. The original manuscript is in the possession of his son, Wm. L. Henry, of Buncombe county. We are indebted to Hon. D. Schenck, of Greensboro, for the copy from which this was taken. That copy has since been deposited in the Library of the Greensboro Female College.

were posted, and a slight skirmish occurred. A British Colonel (Hall) and three privates were killed, and thirty-six wounded."

If we take this account to be true, we must conclude that their militia were very bad marksmen, for they had time to have fired five rounds each, which would have been three thousand single shots, at distances varying from fifty yards to less than twenty yards, over a naked sheet of water; that their enemy was not obscured by smoke, being in water above the waist-band, and hanging together by their muskets; that not a single gun was fired by them whilst in the water.

This story, if it bears telling, cannot be accredited to be true, that in firing three thousand shots they only killed four, including Colonel Hall, and wounded thirty-six. The story appears further increditable from this—that in common battles on land, there are as many, and often more, men killed than wounded where the whole force from head to foot is exposed to the fire of the opposite party. In the present case the body, from the waist-band to the top of the head, was exposed —for all below was under water and secure from lead. Wounds in the upper part (of the body) are doubly as apt to kill as those in the lower extremities, from the waist-band downward; hence we would expect double as many killed on this occasion as wounded—but the reverse is told, that only four were killed, including Colonel Hall, and thirty-six wounded.

A further mistake may be noticed. The account states that Davidson had six hundred militia, whereas he had only three hundred. The whole of this quotation should pass for nothing.

The next error that I will notice is on page 235 of Wheeler's History, which I quote: "Soon after the action commenced" (meaning at Cowan's Ford) "General William Davidson was killed, greatly lamented by all who knew him as a talented, brave and generous officer." The true statement is this: Davidson was killed by the first gun that was fired on the

British side on that occasion, for they did not fire a gun whilst in the river; and the gun that killed him was fired at the water's edge on the Mecklenburg side: and if Davidson's clothes had been examined, it is probable that they would have shown the mark of powder. The whole of the Americans had left their stands or posts at the water's edge and judiciously fled, lest the British might hem them in by the river; and utter silence prevailed—not a gun firing on either side; silence was first broken by the report of the gun that killed Davidson.

A further quotation from the same page: "The company commanded by General Graham was the first to commence the attack" (at Cowan's Ford) "on the British as they advanced through the river, which was resolutely continued until they reached the bank, loaded their arms, and commenced a heavy fire upon his men, two of whom were killed." The whole of this is a gratuitous statement, for General Graham was not there—nor was there either officer or private killed at that place except General Davidson; nor was there any one wounded there except Robert Beatty, who afterwards died of the wound. General Graham and his company may have been at Davidson's camp, three-quarters of a mile from the Ford, and two of his men might have been killed there, if they were too tardy in making their escape before the British arrived there.

Another quotation from Wheeler's History, p. 264: "At day-break the British army under Cornwallis, on the 1st February, 1781, entered the waters of the Catawba, then swollen by heavy rains, at Cowan's Ford. The morning was dark and rainy. The light infantry under Colonel Hall entered first, followed by the grenadiers, and the battalions. The piquet of General Davidson challenged the enemy; receiving no reply the guard fired. This turned out the whole force of Davidson, who kept up a galling fire from the bank." Observe the morning was dark but not rainy. Davidson's army was stationed three-quarters of a mile from the Ford, and did

not fire a gun at the British whilst in the river, nor after they came across; all the firing by the American side in the river and on the bank was done by the guard.

Now, I will give my own version of the transaction of Cornwallis' crossing Catawba River at Cowan's Ford, 1st February, 1781. Robert Beatty, a lame man, had taken up a school near the Tuckaseedga Ford, and had taught two days, and was teaching the third, when news came to the school-house that Cornwallis was camped at Forney's, about seven miles from the school-house; that Tarleton was ranging through the country catching Whig boys to make musicians of them in the British army. The master instantly dismissed the scholars, directing them to go home and spread the news, and retired himself. I went home, and that night Moses Starret, Alexander Starret, George Gillespie, Robert Gillespie and Charles Rutledge came to my father's. We lay out that night, and shortly before day-light my brother, Joseph Henry, who had left the army to give the news, and had crossed Catawba at John Beattie's in a canoe; and when he left the army, it was expected that Cornwallis would cross the river at Tuckaseedga Ford. Early in the morning this company crossed the river at Beattie's, about two miles below Tuckaseedga Ford, when we hid our canoe, staid some time at Beattie's—then went up to the Tuckaseedga Ford, and the army was at Cowan's Ford, we went up the river to John Nighten's, who treated us well by giving us potatoes to roast, and some whiskey to drink. We became noisy and mischievous. Nighten said we should not have any more whiskey. I proposed to go to the camp at the Ford, if any one would let me have a gun and ammunition. My brother said he would give me his; Charles Rutledge proposed also to accompany me if he had a gun and amunition; when Moses Starret gave him his gun. When about to start, I gave Nighten a hundred dollar Continental bill for a pint of whiskey. My brother gave another bill of the same size for half a bushel of potatoes. We dispatched the whiskey. Being thus equipped, we went to the Ford, which was about

a mile and a half. When we arrived, the guard that was there, thirty in number, made us welcome; the officer of the guard told us that Cornwallis would certainly attempt to cross that night or early in the morning; that each one of the guard had picked their stands to annoy the British as they crossed, so that when the alarm was given they would not be crowded, or be in each other's way—and said we must choose our stands. He accompanied us—Charles Rutledge chose the uppermost stand, and I chose the lowest, next the getting out place of the Ford; the officer observed that he considered that Davidson had done wrong, for that the army should have been stationed at the Ford—instead of which it was encamped three-fourths of a mile off, and that some person acquainted in the neighborhood of Forney should watch the movements of Cornwallis' army, and immediately when they would attempt to march, to hasten to the river and give the alarm; then that Davidson's army might be in readiness to receive them; the river being in the situation that it was then in, and the army thus prepared to receive them, said that Cornwallis and a million of men could not cross without cannon as long as our ammunition would last. This I thought was a large expression; but since I think he was correct. He mentioned to each man of the guard to go to his stand again and examine it, so that when the alarm was given, that there should be no mistakes then made. I went to mine, and was well pleased with it—for in shooting, if I would miss my first aim, my lead would range along the British army obliquely and still do damage, and that I could stand it until the British would come to a place the water was rippling over a rock, then it would be time to run away. I remember I looked over the guard to see if there was any person with whom I was acquainted, and found none but Joel Jetton, and my lame school-master, Robert Beatty, with my comrade, Charles Rutledge.

Gen. Joseph Graham's name is mentioned by Wheeler. I was acquainted with him; but he was not there. Shortly after dark a man across the river hooted like an owl, and was

answered; a man went to a canoe some distance off, and brought word from him that all was silent in the British camp. The guards all lay down with their guns in their arms, and all were sound asleep at daybreak, except Joel Jetton, who discovered the noise of horses in deep water. The British pilot, Dick Beal, being deceived by our fires, had led them into swimming water. Jetton ran to the Ford. The sentry being sound asleep, Jetton kicked him into the river, endeavored to fire his gun, but it was wet. Having discovered the army, ran to our fires, having a fine voice, cried "The British! the British!" and fired a gun—then each man ran to his stand; when I got to my stand I saw them red, but thought from loss of sleep my eyes might be mistaken, threw water into them; by the time I was ready to fire, the rest of the guard fired. I then heard the British splashing and making a noise as if drowning. I fired, and continued firing until I saw that one on horseback had passed my rock in the river, and saw that it was Dick Beal moving his gun from his shoulder, I expected to shoot me. I ran with all speed up the bank, and when at the top of it, William Polk's horse breasted me, and General Davidson's horse, about twenty or thirty feet before Polk's horse, and near to the water's edge. All being silent on both sides, I heard the report of a gun at the water's edge, being the first gun fired on the British side, and which I thought Dick Beal had fired at me. That moment Polk wheeled his horse and cried, "Fire away, boys; there is help at hand!" Turning my eye round, designing to run away, I saw my lame school-master, Beatty, loading his gun by a tree; I thought I could stand it as long as he could, and commenced loading. Beatty fired, then I fired, the heads and shoulders of the British being just above the bank; they made no return fire; silence still prevailed. I observed Beatty loading again; I ran down another load; when he fired he cried, "It's time to run, Bob." I looked past my tree, and saw their guns lowered, and then straightened myself behind my tree. They fired and knocked off some bark from my tree.

In the meantime Beatty had turned from his tree, and a bullet hit him in the hip and broke the upper end of his thigh bone; he fell, still hallowing for me to run. I then ran at the top of my speed about one hundred yards, when the thought struck me that the British had no horsemen to follow me, and that Davidson's army would be down at the river and a battle would take place. Whereupon I loaded my gun and went opposite to the Ford, and chose a large tree, sat down by it, and fired about fifty yards at the British. They fired several guns toward the place where I was; but their lead did not come nearer to me than about two rods.

I will now account for the great difference between the number of the British killed and those wounded, as stated by Wheeler. The water at the Ford was fully waistband deep, and in many places deeper, with a very heavy pressing current, and when a man was killed or badly wounded the current immediately floated him away, so that none of them that were killed or badly wounded were ever brought to the shore, and none but those slightly wounded reached the bank; Colonel Hall fell at the bank. I account for the three British that were killed, as stated by Wheeler, in this way: Beatty, the lame school-master, an excellent marksman, fired twice, at a distance of not more than twenty yards, at the British after they had ascended the high bank, as before stated, and I fired twice about the same distance. I therefore think Beatty being the best marksman killed two, and I killed one.

Wheeler states that on the American side there were two killed. I observe if there was any one killed that it was not at the river, for the British did not fire a gun whilst in the river, and when they arose the high bank, all were gone but Beatty and myself; that if any were killed it was at Davidson's camp, three-quarters of a mile from the Ford of the river. But I never heard of any one either killed or wounded of the Americans, except Robert Beatty, on that occasion.

I will give an account of the balance of my route after firing the last time, as heretofore stated. I went down the river

to John Beattie's, where we had left our canoe; there I found my company, the two Starretts and two Gillespies, my brother Joseph and my comrade, Charles Rutledge. I returned the gun to my brother after counting the catridges—found seven missing—therefore I had fired seven times, as I supposed. The company remained at Beattie's until the next morning; when we took our canoe to cross the river to the Lincoln side, it was proposed that we would go to James Cunningham's fish trap and see if there were any fish in it. When we arrived at the trap there were fourteen dead men lodged in it, several of whom appeared to have no wound, but had drowned. We pushed them into the water, they floated off, and went each to his own home. This is my version of that transaction.

Now, I will give the common report of it. I will begin with the report of Nicholas Gosnell, one of our neighbors, a Tory, who was in Cornwallis' army when they crossed the Catawba at Cowan's Ford. It was frequently repeated from the extraordinary language he used and from his manner of expression—it is therefore better imprinted on my memory. I will endeavor to give it in his own language: "His Lordship chose Dick Beal for his pilot, he well knowd the Ford, and a durned pretty pilot he was, for he suffered himself to be led astray by the Rebel fires, and then had to go down to the Ford afterwards; but if he did bad one way he did good another, for he killed their damned Rebel General. The Rebels were posted at the water's edge—there want many on 'em; but I'll be durned if they didn't slap the wad to his Majesty's men sewisidally for a while, for I saw 'em hollerin' and a snortin' and a drownin'—the river was full on 'em, a snortin', a hollorin' and a drownin' until his Lordship reached the off bank; then the Rebels made straight shirt tales, and all was silent—then I tell you his Lordship was Bo sure super Gille Christilum, and when he rose the bank he was the best dog in the hunt, and not a Rebel to be seen." This is the Tory version of Cornwallis crossing Catawba at Cowan's Ford.

The following is the report of every person who lived at or near the river between Cowan's Ford and Tuckaseedga Ford: That a great number of British dead were found on Thompson's fish dam and in his trap, and numbers lodged on brush and drifted to the banks; that the river stunk with dead carcasses; that the British could not have lost less than one hundred men on that occasion.

Report of soldiers who were in Davidson's army. When Wm. Polk returned from the river after General Davidson was killed at Cowan's Ford, three-quarters of a mile from the Ford—they stated that when William Polk returned from the Ford, and reported the death of General Davidson, that some of the army had left and the rest were in confusion; that Polk prudently marched them off, not being able to fight Cornwallis on equal terms.

KING'S MOUNTAIN EXPEDITION.

BY DAVID VANCE AND ROBERT HENRY.

I will now give the statement of Colonel D. Vance and General Joseph McDowell of the manner of raising the army to oppose Colonel Fergurson—its march and defeat of Fergurson.

This part is the statement of Colonel Vance; and on a sarcastic and sneering reply by M. Matthews, saying that they, to-wit, the army under Campbell, was a fierce and formidable set of chickens, and could make great havoc among eggs, if each one was provided with a stick. This elicited a more extensive reply and statement of the whole affair and its consequences from Gen. J. McDowell. I will first give the reasons why Vance and McDowell made these statements. The General Assembly of North Carolina made an agreement with that of Tennessee to run and mark the division line between the two States—and in the year 1799 the State of North Carolina appointed General

J. McDowell, Colonel David Vance[1] and Massentine Matthews[2] Commissioners on the part of North Carolina, who associated John Strother and Robert Henry, surveyors, with the necessary members of chain-bearers, markers, and pack-horsemen for that business, who met and went to the White Top Mountain, a spur of the Stone Mountain, where the Virginia line crossed the latter. Strother did not appear at the commencement. The company were asking a great many detached questions relative to Fergurson's defeat—at length requested that McDowell or Vance would give them a connected account of the whole transaction from first to last. It was agreed that Colonel Vance should give that account. The Colonel agreed to do so on consulting with McDowell, our pilot, Gideon Lewis, who had been a news-carrier, and myself [and related it], on the first wet day that should happen so that we could not progress with the line.

Accordingly a wet day happened, when we were at the head of the Round-About on the Stone Mountain. Our bark camp was soon fixed, and Colonel Vance gave the account, ending with the details of the battle of King's Mountain. Whereupon M. Matthews observed that "we (meaning the army) were a fierce and formidable set of blue hen's chickens among eggs, if each one was provided with a stick." This brought a reply from McDowell. That being done I was provided with a note book, separate from my surveyor's book, to take down a memorandum of particular things that happened, and commenced taking a memorandum of Vance's account of that transaction. Whereupon Colonel Vance, who was an elegant clerk, told me as there was only one surveyor, that I had not time to do it, and if I would give him my book, that he would

[1] Member of the House of Commons from Iredell County, N. C., in 1791—*Wheeler*, page 62, L. C. D.

[2] Member of House of Commons—*Wheeler*, page 217, Iredell County, L. C. D.

write it for me, as he had leisure. He took the book and returned it to me, saying he had paper of his own, at a spring by the side of Bright's Path in the Bald Ground on the Yellow Mountain. Having taken down his own recollections, and also General McDowell's reply to M. Matthews —which is as follows:

"As I have in some measure to depend on my memory, I will begin with Colonel Shelby's retreat after his defeating the British at Enoree. Colonel Charles McDowell had detached Shelby, Sevier, etc., with a party to go round where Fergurson was camped—who defeated the British and Tories at Enoree, when Colonel McDowell received intelligence of Gates' defeat, and sent an express to Colonel Shelby to retreat. General Joseph McDowell was then Mayor, and I was Captain. Colonel Shelby called a council of all his officers to know what was best to do. It was agreed that we must make a wood's trip to get round Fergurson and join Colonel C. McDowell, carrying the prisoners alternately on horseback, and running on foot short distances. After going some distance, found that Colonel C. McDowell had left his camp, and was retreating towards Gilbert Town, we altered our course and overtook him and the main army.

"After joining Colonel C. McDowell, it was proposed by Colonels Shelby and Sevier that they thought an army of volunteers could be raised to defeat Fergurson, stating that Fergurson's main business was to kill the Whig stock; that he would be at the heads of Broad River, and then go to the head of Catawba to execute that purpose, which would give time to raise an army of volunteers over the mountains, and in Wilkes and Surry counties, all the officers, and some of the privates were consulted, and all agreed that it was right to make the trial to raise an army. It was then agreed that the prisoners should be sent to Virginia; that Colonels Shelby and Sevier and their men should immediately go over the mountains home, and pro-

cure volunteers; that Colonel Chas. McDowell should send an express to Colonels Cleveland and Herndon in Wilkes for them to raise volunteers; and that Colonel C. McDowell should provide some way to preserve the Whig stock on the head of Catawba, and provide some way also to give intelligence of Fergurson's movements.

"The prisoners were accordingly dispatched to Virginia. Colonels Shelby and Sevier went immediately over the mountains; and Colonel C. McDowell wrote to Colonels Cleveland and Herndon to raise volunteers to be ready to march upon the shortest notice; he then called the men on the head of Catawba, and first proposed that they that could not go over the mountains, should take protection on the advance of Fergurson, and thereby save the Whig stock; Daniel Smith (afterwards Colonel), Thomas Lytle, Robert Patton, and J. McDowell, of the Pleasant Garden, absolutely refused, and stated that they would drive the Whig stock into the deep coves under the eve of the Black Mountain;—that others might take protection and save the stock that remained behind. John Carson (afterwards Colonel), Wm. Davidson, Ben Davidson, and others were appointed to take protection, to save the remaining Whig stock.

"James, Jack and Archibald Nail were appointed to be news-bearers over the Yellow Mountains to Shelby, and were to be passing continually—that they were to receive the news in Turkey Cove relative to Ferguson's movements. That Joseph Dobson and James McKay were to be bearers of the like news to Colonels Cleveland and Herndon; and that they were to receive their news at the Montgomery Place, afterwards Joseph Dobson's place.

"Colonel Ben Cleveland appointed his brother, Robert Cleveland, and Gideon Lewis, our pilot, to be news-bearers from B. Cleveland to Shelby. Thus the news went the rounds as fast as horses could carry their riders.

"After Colonel C. McDowell had thus arranged his

business, he received the news that Fergurson was at Gilbert Town. He then collected all the men that he could procure from Burke county, and went to Shelby and Sevier, who had engaged Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, also to raise volunteers. The orders given to the volunteers were to equip themselves as quick as possible, and have nothing to provide when they were called on to march, but to saddle their horses and march on the shortest notice. Those who could not go supplied those who could with anything they stood in need of. It was also announced to the volunteers by the officers that a battle with Fergurson was determined upon, and that they might rely on a battle before they returned home.

"The news went the rounds by the news-carriers already mentioned, of everything that happened in Fergurson's camp—until the news came that John Carson had played a supple trick on Fergurson—that having saved almost all the Whig stock that had not been driven into the coves by Daniel Smith and Company—that Ferguson began to suspect Carson for saving Whig stock—there being a large quantity of Tory cattle ranging about the large cane-breaks where David Greenlee lives, and that a party of Fergurson's were fitted out to kill Whig stock, and that they designing to go to that place—and another party was going to the Montgomery place—that is, the place where Joseph Dobson lives on—for the like purpose. Carson went with the party going to the Montgomery place without informing the party going to the Greenlee place that the cattle ranging there were Tory stock, the owners being in Fergurson's camp. The parties each went to their places of destination, and returned into camp; those who went to the Greenlee place reported that they had killed over one hundred head of three, four, five and six-year-old Rebel steers at McGonaugh place. J. Carson observed that he expected that those steers were the stock of Joseph Brown, Dement and Johnstone, who were there in the camp.

Whereupon Brown, Dement and Johnstone went and discovered that the steers thus killed were every one theirs. This turned the Tories rather against Fergurson; whereupon Fergurson stated that the Rebels had outwitted him, and that he could not effect his purpose there—that he would start back to Gilbert Town on a given day.

"The news was on its passage to Shelby and Cleveland as soon as the breath left Fergurson's mouth—it did not stop day or night—it was soon at the place of destination. Immediately Shelby directed Campbell and his men to meet him at a given time at Watauga; and Sevier to meet him and Campbell at 10 o'clock on a given day at the spring in the Bald Ground, on the Yellow Mountains, at the side of Bright's Path—all of which were done with great exactness. He issued orders for Cleveland and Herndon to meet him on a given day on Silver Creek, in Burke county; and ordered D. Smith, J. McDowell, Lytle, Patton, and those who had taken protection, to meet him at Wm. Nail's by a given night, which was the night next after the meeting on the Yellow Mountain.

"When the officers met at the spring on the Yellow Mountain, it was quickly agreed that they would send Colonel Charles McDowell with an express to General Gates, for him to send an experienced officer to conduct them in a battle with Fergurson; and as soon as Charles McDowell, with his silver-mounted Tom Simpson rifle, had disappeared, steering for the path on the Linville Ridge, the army descended the mountain on Bright's Path, and went to Wm. Nail's that night, where they met Daniel Smith, Thomas Lytle, Joseph McDowell and Robert Patton, the persons who had driven the Whig stock into the coves under the eave of Black Mountain, and also those who had taken protection. When it was agreed that D. Smith, T. Lytle and J. McDowell should remain at the head of the river, as they were considered equal to a small army against Indians; and that the Indians were expected to

fall on the frontier as soon as Fergurson left it; and that they should have those who had taken protection to assist them. It was agreed that Joseph McDowell (now General) should take twenty men with him, and follow Fergurson's trail for fear of surprise—who at the head of Silver Creek, near the Pilot Mountain, came on a squad of Tories who were designing to follow Fergurson, and killed some of them and put the rest to flight—and returned to the army in the morning after staying the night at Wm. Nail's.

"The army marched into Silver Creek, and at the place appointed met Colonels Cleveland and Herndon so exactly that it scarcely occasioned a halt—proceeding on the Cane Creek of Broad River, at a place afterwards called Probit's place.

"Major Billy Chronicle, with twenty men, joined the army; no halt called—still proceeding on. At Camp Creek Colonel William Graham, with one hundred and sixty men well mounted, joined—who gave intelligence that Ferguson had left Gilbert Town, and had crossed Broad River at Twitty's Ford, on his way to Crudger at Ninety-Six, and that Colonel Williams was near to Gilbert Town. It was agreed among the officers [while], still on the march, that Colonel Herndon's foot could not overhaul Ferguson before he would reach Ninety-Six. They then began to count the number of horsemen that they could raise. Beginning with those under Colonel Graham and those of Major Chronicle—Graham's men 160, Chronicle's 20, were to count 200, instead of 180. Campbell mentioned to Chronicle that the lad whom he had with him should not hear their enumeration. Chronicle replied that he was a son of Old Rugged and Tough, that his cheek was too well hooped to leak—the lad [Robert Henry] then [listening] is now our surveyor. They numbered on and found their true number to be between six and seven hundred; but told the soldiers it was between 1100 and 2000 [1200 (?)], counting Williams' men.

"Orders were then given for all who were unable, from any cause that would hinder him in a severe march, should fall back into the foot troops, and give their horses to footmen [who needed them, in order to be properly equipped for the march]; a number of exchanges were made. Further orders were given at Gilbert Town to kill some beeves, which was done; and orders were given for the horsemen to be ready to march at a given time, which was very short. Some of the troops who were tardy got none [of the beef (?)]. The line of march was taken to cross Broad River at Pear's Ford, below the mouth of Green River, to take a near cut on Fergurson on his way to Ninety-Six. The day and night were occasionally showery. We marched on, crossing Fergurson's trail in the track (?), and proceeded to the Cowpens, and came to a Tory's house, pulled him out of bed, treated him roughly, and asked him at what time Fergurson had passed that place. He said he had not passed at all; that he had torch pine—that we might light it and search, and if we could find the track of an army we might hang him, or do what we pleased with him; and if no sign of an army could be found, he would expect more mild treatment. Search was made, and no sign of an army found.

"We then camped, and began to send persons to find Fergurson's track. Chronicle proposed to send Enoch Gilmer as one; it was objected to because he was not acquainted with the country. Chronicle said that he could find out anything better than those acquainted, for he could act any character that he pleased—that he could cry and laugh in the same breath, and those best acquainted would believe that he was in earnest in both; that he could act the fool so that those best acquainted with him would believe him to be deranged; that he was a shrewd, cunning fellow, and a stranger to fear. Hence he was [sent] among others. He went to a Tory's house on Fergurson's trail, and stated to him that he had been waiting on Fergurson's

way from Twitty's Ford to Ninety-Six, but missed finding him; that he wished to join the army. The Tory replied that after Fergurson had crossed the river at Twitty's Ford, he had received an express from Lord Cornwallis for him to join the main army at Charlotte; that he had called in Tarleton, and would call in his out posts, and give Gates another defeat, and reduce North Carolina to British rule as he had South Carolina and Georgia, and would enter Virginia with a larger army than had ever been in America. Gilmer gave this account to the officers. This was some time in the day. They then commenced marching to the Cherokee Ford on Broad River. Night came on, and our pilots missed their way, the night being dark and occasionally raining, so that when we came near to the river it was near daylight; when we came to the river hills it was agreed that we would send Enoch Gilmer to see whether Fergurson had not been apprised of us and would attack us in the river. Orders were given to keep our guns dry, for it was raining. Gilmer was gone for some time, when his voice was heard in the hollow singing ["] Barney Linn ["], a favorite black-guard song. This was notice that all was right. Orders were given that the largest horses should be on the upper side. The order was not obeyed. The river was deep, but it was remarked that not one was ducked. After passing the river, it was agreed that Enoch Gilmer should go ahead, and make all the discoveries about Ferguson that he could. He went off in a gallop. The officers kept in front of the privates at a very slow gait—the men cursing and stating if we were to have a battle, to let it be over, etc.

"All were very hungry, and when we would come to a cornfield, it was soon pulled. The soldiers would cut part of the raw corn off the cob and hand the remainder to their horses. After traveling some miles, the officers saw Gilmer's horse at a gate about three-quarters of a mile ahead. They gave whip to their horses, and went at full speed to gate—alighted, and went into the house. Gilmer was sit-

ting at a table eating. Campbell exclaimed, 'We have got you—you d—d rascal.' Gilmer replied, 'A true King's man, by G—d.' Campbell in order to try Gilmer's metamorphosis, had provided himself with a rope, with a running noose on it, threw it over Gilmer's neck. Gilmer commenced crying and begging; Campbell swore that they would hang him on the bow of the gate. When Chronicle stated that it was wrong to hang him there, for his ghost would haunt the women, who were now in tears. Campbell observed that was right, that we will hang him on the first stooping limb of a tree that they should pass on the road—then sending Gilmer along one or two hundred yards, Gilmer crying and begging for his life, the rope was taken from his neck, and he mounted his horse, and was asked what news he had obtained. He stated as follows: 'That when he came to the Tory's house, he professed to be a true King's man, that he was wishing to join Colonel Fergurson, and desired to know where he was, and that he had kissed the two Tory women; that the youngest of the two informed him that she had been in Ferguson's camp that morning; that the camp was about three miles distant from that place; that she had carried him some chickens; that he was camped on a ridge between two branches where some deer hunters had a camp the last Fall. Major Chronicle and Captain Mattocks stated that the camp referred to was their camp, and that they well knew the ground Fergurson was camped on.

"Whereupon it was agreed on that they should plan the battle, as they knew the ground. They rode a short distance by themselves, and reported that it was an excellent place to surround Fergurson's army, as the shooting would all be up hill—that there would be no danger of our men destroying each other; but doubted whether we had men enough to surround them. It was then instantly agreed on by all the officers, that we would attempt to surround our foes. They immediately began to arrange their men,

without stopping and assigning to each officer the part he was to take in surrounding the hill. By the time this was done, we were close to our enemy. The last whose duty was to be performed was Colonel William Graham with his men, who desired leave of absence, alleging that he had received certain intelligence that his wife was dying with colic, about sixteen miles off, near Armstrong's Ford, on the South Fork. Campbell stated to him that should be the greatest inducement for him to stay, that he could carry the news, and if we were successful, it would be to her as good as a dose of medicine. Graham exclaimed, 'Oh my dear, dear wife! Must I never see her again?' Campbell, in an angry tone of voice, turned to Major Chronicle, and said, 'Shall Colonel Graham have leave of absence?' To which Chronicle replied, 'It is woman's business, let him go.' Graham said he must have an escort—Chronicle told him he might have one; Graham chose David Dickey. Dickey said he would rather be shot (in battle) than go. Chronicle said, 'Dave you must go.' Dickey said he 'would rather be shot on the spot; but if I must go, I must.' Then Colonel Graham and Dickey immediately to the woods, and disappeared.[1]

"Campbell then mentioned to Chronicle that as Graham has gone, you must take his place; turning to Colonel Hawbright, Campbell asked 'have you any objections?' He replied, that it was his wish, as Chronicle best knew the ground. Whereupon Chronicle called, 'come on, my South Fork boys,' and took the lead.

"The hill was surrounded in a few minutes, and the bat-

[1] Colonel William Graham must not be confounded with Major (afterwards, General) Joseph Graham. They were not related to each other. Colonel Graham came from Augusta County, Virginia, and settled on the First Broad River, then Tryon, now Cleveland County. He married Susan, daughter of William Twitty. Previcus to this battle, he had been a good soldier, an Indian fiighter, and was a popular man. See an honorable sketch of him in "Hunter's Sketches of North Carolina," p. 322.

[This note was supplied by Professor Draper or Schenck and Davidson, (Henry)].

tle commenced. Our enemies had two to our one; of course their fire was double that of ours. We killed 247 of them and they killed 143 of our side, agreeably to the account of E. Gilmer and Joseph Beatty, supposed to be the most accurate of any. So that they having choice of ground we fought them two to one; we killed as many more of them as they killed of us, and took more prisoners than we had men to guard them. But we had not a coward to face the hill that day—they all faded off, until within ten minutes of the battle, the last coward left us. Our equals were scarce, and our superiors hard to find.

"This is the most particular and accurate account, my friend, that I can give you.

"Whereupon at the head of the Roundabout, I made a similar statement to our chain-bearers, pack-horse men, etc., Musendine Matthews made the following reply: 'Ah! you would have been a formidable and destructive set of blue hen's chickens among eggs, if each one of you had been provided with a good stick. When any body pretends to tell the story of that transaction; it would be to his credit to play the game of shut mouth.'[1] This elicited the following reply from General Joseph McDowell:

" 'Before that battle (referring to Ferguson defeat), we had sustained two shameful and disastrous defeats—that of Gates by treachery; and that of Sumpter by carelessness, in quick succession one after the other—upon which, the Tories flocked to the British camps, and increased their numbers to two or three fold; that the county was overrun, and fairly delayed with them, so much that from the pressure of their numbers, the souls of the brave, from necessity were obliged to cower under its weight, and none but the bravest of the brave withstood the shock.'

[1] All we know about Mussentine Matthews is that he represented Iredell County in the House of Commons for 1789 to 1802 continuously. He was either a Tory or a Cynic, it seems.

[This note was supplied by Professor Draper or by Schenck and Davidson, (Henry)].

[CONTINUED FURTHER ON IN THIS PAMPHLET.]

HISTORIC POINTS ON CAPE FEAR RIVER.

BY F. T. W.

There is, perhaps, no part of the State that is annually visited by so large a number of tourists—usually excursionists—as the Cape Fear Section. From the first of July until the middle of September there is an average of one excursion each day. The visitors usually remain from home two days and nights if they are from the western part of the State, reaching Wilmington between 12 and 4 o'clock p. m., and leaving on their return trip the following afternoon between 5 and 6 o'clock. If the train reaches Wilmington early enough, the excursionists go straight to Ocean View and return to spend the night in the city. On the following day the steamer Wilmington makes a trip to sea. If one wishes to get a definite idea of a few experiences of this outing he can do no better than visit the lower and upper decks after it is all over.

Before they have gotten far enough down the river to begin to long for their far away homes many interesting points are pointed out by the reliable captain who seems never to tire of the voyage between South Port and Wilmington, having made fifteen thousand trips.

About a mile below the wharf is a tree at a bend in the river standing out in full view. It is a cedar and is said to have borne the name "Dram Tree" for more than a century. For years it has stood as a land mark, telling the weary sailor that he is fast approaching his journey's end. As to how it derived its name there was an old tradition which says that a numer of sailors who had been compelled to land here on account of a storm could not resist the temptation which the cup of sack offered them. They tied their boat to this tree and could not leave until it was dark. They finally got off and began to row with all their power, doubtless thinking of reaching their far away homes. All night they labored and toiled and when morn-

ing came, instead of finding themselves near home, they found that they had neglected the significant part of their work—that of untieing their boat.

Eight miles below the Dram Tree is Big Island. The name given to it by the commissioners from the Barbadoes in 1663 was "Crane's Island." These commisioners were sent out to explore the "Cape Fear Country" and to find a good place for settlement. They found on Crane's Island the ruler of this country, the Indian Chief, Stat Coosa. From him they bought a considerable amount of land and were about to leave for their homes when an incident rather embarrassing to one of the commissioners, Captain Hilton, occurred. The Indian Chief came out on their arrival and made a speech which was known to be peaceful from the nature of his gestures. Besides giving the Barbadians supplies and selling them land the enthusiastic chief presented to Captain Hilton two of his daughters. They got on board his ship and refused to leave, merely shaking their heads at his entreaties. He finally got rid of them by promising his early return. The maidens watched in vain for the return of the Barbadians.

Still further down the river can be seen an old pier which seems to have been beaten by the rough weather for years. It is the landing for Old Brunswick, the ruins of which are a half or three quarters of a mile back in the dense forest. Of this old town nothing remains save the ruins of the old church and a few graves. The Collonial Counsel often met here and Governor Johnson spent a considerable part of his time here. The church was built of brick brought from England. In 1751 the British Parliament appropriated the funds secured by the capture of a pirate's vessel for the erection of this, St. Phillips' church, and also St. James' church of Wilmington. The walls are three feet thick and are standing as they were built a hundred and fifty years ago except where they have divided just over the main entrance. The Federal soldiers removed

the corner-stone and papers in it after the capture of Fort Anderson which was near by. Though the grave stones were torn to pieces by the bombs from the battle at Fort Anderson, the walls of the church remained unshattered.

Near Carolina Beach pier is a large grove which is known as "Gander's Hall." It derived its name from the fact that Mr. McIlhenry, who owned the place in 1830, wanted to raise some geese, and as he liked the white feathers much better bought only white fowls. After waiting a long time for them to lay he learned from one experienced in the poultry business that his birds were all ganders.

Probably the most interesting point on the river is where Fort Fisher stood. It was used in the late war as a fortification for what was known as "New Inlet." From the situation it was one of the most important forts in the Confederate States. Whenever that was lost the entire southeastern part of North Carolina was in the hands of the Federals. There were only 1,900 men and 44 guns in the fort. It was not captured until 1865. When we consider that they had one mile of sea-force and one-half mile of land-force to defend against 10,000 Federals with 600 heavy guns, and that the fort was not given up until the last shot was expended and 1,445 of the enemy had been killed, we see that it could not but have been a brave defense. Nothing except the fortifications remain and they present the appearance of sand hills.

Just below the fort are "The Rocks." The Inlet has been closed and in accomplishing this it is said that enough rocks were used to build a wall eight by four feet from Wilmington to South Port, a distance of twenty-four miles.

At the mouth of the river is Fort Caswell. Work was begun on this fort by the government in 1826. It was evacuated just after Fort Fisher fell. Just after this event the commander of the fort received orders to send his men back into the woods, so as to conceal them from the Fed-

erals. Later he received orders to blow up the magazines. The order came at 1 a. m., and the match was at once applied to trains which had been arranged. It is said that our magazine contained nearly 100,000 pounds of powder and when it exploded "the earth trembled and shook" and the effects were felt at Wilmington and even as far up as Fayetteville, a distance of over a hundred miles. This site has recently been fitted up with large disappearing guns, and in March Battery I, Second Regiment, U. S. Artillery, arrived there to hold the fort.

WILLIAM W. HOLDEN.

BY W. K. BOYD.

PART 1.—1818–1855.

In the history of North Carolina as in that of every Southern State, the years of "Reconstruction" are the most crucial in the civilization and growth of a century. To the student of that period Governor W. W. Holden is the central figure, for he represents not only the dignity and authority of his native State, but also the restored authority of the United States. The natural complexities arising from his delicate position are augmented by his former relations to North Carolina politics. So, for one to attempt to treat in an unbiased way his life and character within the short time of six years after his exit from the scenes of his brilliant but ill-fated career may seem to many at least an unwise and fruitless task. All the difficulties of such a work have been seriously considered in the preparation of this paper. Of a score of letters addressed to as many men who were the contemporaries of Mr. Holden, less than one-half have been answered; less than one-half of these have furnished any definite data, while the remaining fourth convey little more than that the writers were his personal friends but know nothing of his history. But where the evidence of contemporaries

has failed the deficiency has been ably retrieved by files of the *North Carolina Standard*, and these inanimate witnesses of the social and political conditions of the State during more than twenty years of its history have spoken tomes for the energy and sagacity of their master and genius. What I wish to make plain is that no facts are here stated in the spirit of controversy or through the influence of personal opinion. My only aim has been to state facts as I find them, all of which may not be absolutely correct—for many stories of the "Peace Movement" and "Reconstruction" are yet to be overturned, a task well befitting the genius of any youthful Schlieman who shall unearth the hidden mysteries of those years. But "such as I have give I unto you" in the faith and hope that the age of passion is passing away and a new era of reason—cold reason if you wish so to call it—is at hand, when events will be considered from their proper point-of-view, when he who chronicles the "endless processions of the past" shall as the poet

"In his separate star
Draw the Thing as he sees It, for the God of Things as They Are."

William Woods Holden was born in the year 1818, in the county of Orange, near Hillsboro: and that historic town, the immutable witness of changes in civil and culturelife as they have come and gone for more than a century, was his home during the days of his early youth. When very young he became printer's devil in the office of Dennis Heartt, the editor of the *Hillsboro Recorder*, who well earned the title "Father of the North Carolina Press," and so as apprentice had the advantage of the precepts and example of him who trained more young men for journalism than any other newspaper man in the State. All accounts of these early years are meagre, as would be expected, but there are a few anecdotes and facts gathered here and there which exhibit some of those qualities so conspicuous in Holden's later life. One cold morning when about

twelve years old in making his round with his paper, the young apprentice reached the house of Mr. John Kirkland on the outskirts of Hillsboro and was asked into the dining room to warm. At the table sat a well dressed, handsome young man, fresh from laurels won at Chapel Hill, an extreme contrast to the ill-clad, bare-footed newsboy. "I looked at him," said Holden, many years later, "and thought how happy I would be if I had his opportunities, and then I thought what a gulf there is between us and how uneven are our chances in life. But I determined then and there that I would keep pace with him in life's struggle." When he went to leave the lady of the house said to him, "Wait, and get a biscuit"—then the young man, at her command, buttered a biscuit and gave it to Holden, and as the destitute boy resumed his morning work his determination became a vow. In 1868 Holden was elected Governor over Thomas Ashe, the young man who buttered his biscuit that crisp morning thirty years before. At another time the apprentice ran away from his master. Mr. Heartt, according to custom, advertised in his paper threatening with the penalty of the law those who should harbor the runaway, and offered five cents reward for his apprehension. By chance Holden saw the notice, secretly returned by night and changed the form of the *Recorder* so that when the next issue appeared the public was notified that the *Recorder* and its editor were for sale, and both might be had for the sum of fifty cents. At the same time that the boy altered the type, he scratched upon the desk the words, "from this day I will be a man." The apprentice returned and a reconciliation took place between master and servant. These legends of the boy are characteristic of the man, showing traits that were his during the whole of his long and eventful career—a restless dissatisfaction with his environment, an ambition to make himself the peer of his fellows, and in the advertisement

story are seen the germs of a power of repartee which served him well as political editor.

Mr. Holden's hardships made him the friend of all young men who came under his influence but he rarely spoke in detail of his early life. Once only, in 1868, at a banquet given to all the employees who had ever served in the *Standard* office, do we find him telling of his apprenticeship. At the age of sixteen, he says, he left Hillsboro and went to Milton, walking the thirty miles with only his small bundle of personal belongings for company. In Milton he got employment with Nathaniel J. Palmer, editor of the *Chronicle*, and after working four months went to Danville. Here he wrote his first article for the press, which he slipped under the door of the editorial rooms. Two days later his contribution was published and he walked the streets "the proudest boy in the town of Danville." In a year he returned to Hillsboro, "restless but not dissipated, and full of enterprise and ambition." He then worked in a store, spending all his extra time in study, laying the foundations of that broad culture which ranks him among the best literary men the State has produced.

Soon dissatisfied with his work in Hillsboro, he went to Raleigh, arriving in the city "one bright moon-light night from the town of Hillsboro on an old-fashioned stage with four horses and a horn blowing as we neared the town, with seven dollars of silver in my pocket, knowing no person in Raleigh, in debt in Hillsborough one hundred and fifty dollars, mainly for a gold watch that I bought on credit, and also for a broadcloth coat for which I had promised to pay three dollars per yard." There were then three newspapers in Raleigh: the *Register*, the organ of the Whig Party, and edited by Weston R. Gales; the *Standard*, the organ of the Democratic Party, under the control of Philo White, "editor and State Printer," and Thomas Loring, "publisher and proprietor;" and the *Star*,

a Whig paper, published by Thomas J. Lemay. In the office of the latter Holden found employment, being recommended to the editor by several articles written while still in Hillsborough. He remained in the *Star* office over four years, receiving eight dollars a week, high wages for a printer in those days, working in summer from sun to sun, in winter often till midnight. All his available time was spent in reading law and in 1841 he appeared before the Supreme Court and was admitted to the bar with twenty other young men. The examination was held by Judges Ruffin, Daniel and Gaston. During the examination Judge Gaston asked Holden a question. Holden answered and Gaston said, "Young man, that is correct." Judge Daniel objected, saying, "Brother Gaston, I am not so sure of that." Then followed a learned discussion to the edification of the class, in the end neither being converted to his opponents view. Doubtless the point in question remains unsettled to-day as it concerned an estate in entail under certain conditions.

In politics he was a Whig, true to the backings of "Father" Heartt and Mr. Lemay. In the campaign of 1840, the year that marks the maturity of the Whig ascendency, Holden made his first political speeches, declaring from the log cabins the many virtues of "Tippacanoe and Tyler too." Though Henry Clay failed to secure the presidential nomination of his party and, on the death of Harrison, was made distinctively to understand by Tyler that the sceptre was no longer in his hands, the North Carolina Whigs remained his ardent and devoted supporters. In 1842 he came to Raleigh and the admiration and loyalty of the Ultra-Whig element made his visit a series of gala-days. The women spun kerchiefs, fine linen, hosiery, and all luxuries of dress known to the female mind which they laid as tribute at the feet of their idealized hero to manifest their faith in his Tariff measures and the superiority of American to foreign manufactures. The men held barbecues and

made speeches, and Holden was among the most enthusiastic. "When I speak of Henry Clay I feel like pouring out my whole heart," he said, and he wrote some ardent paragraphs for the *Register* and *Star* in testimony of his loyality.

So the Whigs were in the ascendency and despite the efforts of the Democrats the Whigs again won the State in 1842 by over two thousand majority. Philo White had left the State in 1837 and Loring had poorly supported Van Buren in 1840. What must be done? With a party organ conducted by a weakhearted editor little could be done against such opponents as Lemay and Gales. A change of editors was determined on and a secret meeting of the leading Democrats was held to choose Loring's successor. One of the most prominent young men in the party was James B. Shepherd. He had read the contributions of the little dark-haired apprentice "Bill" Holden, and recognized their literary value. So he proposed the name of Holden as the most promising man to take charge of the Democratic organ. The suggestion was received with derision, but Shepherd persisted and finally gained his point. The proposition was made to Holden, he accepted, and in June 1843 formally entered upon his duties as editor of the *Standard*. What must have been the surprise and chagrin of the Whigs when they read in the organ of their opponents the announcement that W. W. Holden, in the past one of their most promising adherents, schooled from his boyhood in the principles of Whiggery, their associate in the Clay celebrations of the presidency year, had assumed editorial control of the *Standard* and would conduct the paper on its old political principles, that he declared he had ever been at heart a "Democratic Republican of the school of '98 and '99," that he was now a Democrat because the members of that party "have always approved themselves the friends and supporters of equal rights; because they have ever been, and are now,

the advocates of the *many* against the *few;* because whilst they yield to the Federal Government the exercise of its acknowledged and undoubted constitutional powers, they at the same time guard with peculiar vigilance the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the respective States." He declared himself opposed to all taxation beyond the needs of the government, to a national debt, distribution of public lands, and "in fine, to all the projects, measures, and principles of the modern Whig Party." In conclusion he refuses to support Van Buren for re-nomination as Presidential candidate, believing that there are others in the party "entitled to equal consideration and regard." This declaration of Democratic principles does not interest us because it is the platform of one party for one campaign. But the issues stated lie far deeper than the passions of the hour. They express in the most emphatic manner the constitutional basis of one-half the American people at that time. In them breaths the spirit of nullification of 1832 which culminated in Secession in 1861.

A satisfactory explanation of Holden's change of political affiliations has never been made by friend or enemy. The charge that his separation from the party of his benefactors, Heartt and Lemay, was a deliberate breach of faith actuated by desire for personal aggrandizement can hardly be justified by facts. For at this time the Whigs held the State by a large majority and Holden stood well in the estimation of the leading Whig citizens of Raleigh.* In 1841 he had married Miss Anne Young, a niece of the founder of Peace Institute, and this alliance further established his relation in political and social life. Moreover the pecuniary condition of the *Standard* was not at all

*_Standard_, November, 1841: "The North Carolina Temperance Convention met on November 1. Jno. H. Mebane, of Greensboro, was elected President, Rev. Hezekiah G. Leigh, Vice-President, and Lemay, Jesse Brown and Holden, Clerks."

Standard, April 13, 1842: "W. W. Holden, Esq., has been appointed assignee in bankruptcy for the county of Wake."

inviting, especially to one whose finances were not in the most prosperous state. Loring was State Printer and received only nine hundred dollars per year for his services; the result was that the Printer lost on an average one thousand dollars on each year's work which was patiently endured as a matter of professional pride. Also the paper had less than eight hundred subscribers, only one-half of whom were cash paying and the advertisers were almost the masters of the editor. Then he was compelled to hazard the risk of borrowing funds with which to buy the *Standard's* outfit. He first secured five hundred dollars from Shepherd and then approached Duncan Cameron, President of the old State Bank, and asked for a loan of two thousand dollars. Now Loring had turned the *Standard* against the Banks, advocating a mixed currency and Mr. Cameron knew that the *Standard* would continue to advocate a "hard-money" currency. But upon Holden's application the money was handed over without hesitancy, the President of the Bank encouraging the creditor in his venture. "You will find," he said, "that the surest, if not the quickest and most permanent and certain road to power in this country, is that of the press. It may not be so now, but in my judgment in future years it will be so. . . . My advice is, as you have chosen the press, to abandon all idea of the law." The result was that "the Bank being on one side and the paper on the other, through the liberality of Mr. Cameron" Holden received the necessary funds which made success possible to him.*

It is also more than probable that Holden was influenced by a real change of political opinions. The divisions in his party, due to the rivalry of Tyler and Clay, doubtless caused him to examine more seriously than before his reasons for supporting Whiggery, and very likely at the critical moment, Loring, who had been a close friend,

*Standard, August 23, 1868.

stepped in and the victory was won for the Democrats. Perhaps he was coming under the influence of his later chieftain, that greatest of political magicians, Calhoun. At least his conversion was not so sudden as might be expected from the events related, for he tells us that "at the time of the purchase, in June 1843, and months preceding it, it is well known to his immediate personal friends, though he took no active part in political affairs, that he was out and out with the Democratic Party."*

But it is not necessary to continue at length a discussion of the hidden motive. Some events in history, like certain experiences of the individual, must often be considered as valuable in themselves aside from their causes. Suffice it for us that the results of Holden's alliance with his former opponents, viewed from the standpoint of subsequent issues, far exceed in importance any consideration of the personal incentive.

The campaigns of the next year demand the attention of the student of national politics, for they mark the culmination of Clay's brilliant but ineffective political activities. They interest him who reads the history of North Carolina because a new leader appears who meets the challenge of the Whigs with a courage dauntless as that of Gales or Graham. New life is infused into the ranks of the Democrats and the Whigs are none too confident of the future. The center of the State campaign is a secret letter from the Whig State committee to their constituents urging them to vigorous action. The Democrats are charged as "degenerating into a mere faction," trying to carry "this State for Texas and Disunion." "If by any means an apparent majority is returned for Polk and Dallas, *nothing but*

**Standard*, June 28, 1854.

Standard, January 19, 1842: A notice of the removal of Holden's law office "to No. 5 in the building of B. B. Smith, Esq., on Fayetteville street." From this it is evident that he had severed connection with Lemay more than one year before he became editor of the *Standard*.

revolution can help us." In order that Clay and Graham, the Whig candidate for Governor, be elected and the State preserved, all loyal Whigs are called upon to attend the poles, see their fellow-men the day before the election and impress upon them the importance of the issues at stake, challenge doubtful votes and prevent Democratic frauds, and in general warn the people against the political falsehoods of the opposition. This circular was signed by Richard Hines, chairman; George E. Badger, Charles Manly, John H. Bryan, Henry W. Miller and Weston R. Gales.

This letter, exposed by Holden, into whose hands a copy fell by accident, became a battle-cry of the enraged Democrats and was copied by their press far and near. The following from the *Tarborough Press* illustrates the zeal with which the above imputations were repudiated:

"FREEMEN OF EDGECOMBE!

"READ!! READ!!

"We earnestly call the attention of every voter in the county to the following infamous circular, issued by the Federal Coon Central Committee in Raleigh. Read it. Hand it about among your neighbors—rouse up the people from their lethargy—rebuke the imputations of these foul Federal slanderers and strike one more blow for God, Liberty, and the Constitution. . . . Get on your horses and scour the country from one end to the other. . . . Let the indignant thunder of the Edgecombe Democracy be heard reverberating in the mountains of Buncombe. God save the country from such an infamous party."

Holden's sense of humor and dexterity in epigrammatic ridicule found expression in many columns of political satire. A very good example is the following:

"Gapes in chickens may be easily cured by giving them small crumbs of bread impregnated with a little soft soap; once or twice is sufficient."—*Raleigh Star.*

"And gapes in coons may be easily cured by giving them small doses of Polk-juice in little soft pieces of Clay. This physic will cure them by killing them outright; 'once' will do."

But the climax was reached when his burlesque on the

leading Whigs appeared, the most piquant attack of the campaign:

FOR SALT RIVER.

"The substantial packet schooner Scavenger will sail by order of the people of the United States for the head waters of Salt River during the month of November. She carries out as a passenger the Honorable Henry Clay who, after having sought office at the hands of the said people for more than twenty years, has at length received the appointment of Collector of Customs at the head waters of said river, at which point it is expected he will prove in his *official* capacity, that high tariffs make cheap goods. He will carry out a strong corps of surveyors, tide-waiters, bumbailifs, etc.; and as the country is new and unsettled, it is thought that these officers will find constant employment. The following appointments have already been made: *Surveyors*, Millard Filmore, of New York, and General Markle, of Pennsylvania; Berreen, of Georgia, and Morehead, of North Carolina. *Tide-Waiters*, Stanly, Cherry, and Palmer, of North Carolina, and Pleasants, of Virginia. *Bumboat Women*, Messrs. Mangum and Badger, of North Carolina. These last appointments are considered peculiarly appropriate. Mr. Mangum, it is thought, will sing three times a day, a song of thankfulness for having been delivered from Mr. Edmunds, of Virginia, while Mr. B. will serve as a beacon by standing at the mouth of Old Salt every night with a mammoth cigar in his mouth. The collector, it is presumed, will permit him to while away the long hours by untiring threats of 'revolution' to intimidate the bats and owls."*

Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of Holden and the other Democrats, the Whigs carried the State, Graham defeating Hoke by over three thousand majority. But Clay was defeated and an appropriate celebration with martial ceremonies demonstrated the elation of the Democrats over their national victory. They met in capital square, built bonfires and fired a military salute of thirteen guns, then proceeded down Fayetteville street to the residence of Senator Haywood, where cannon were fired and three cheers given for Polk and Dallas, Wright, Texas and Oregon. Senator Haywood then appeared and told the people that instead of speaking himself he would introduce Master Stuart White, a lad nine years old. The boy then addressed the company "in a style which would have honored a much older head." The procession then went

**Standard*, October 30, 1844.

to the home of Louis D. Henry, chairman of the State Democratic Committee, "and also to the dwellings of General Saunders and James B. Shepherd, Esq., with music and loud shouts for Polk, Dallas, Texas, and Oregon." When they dispersed is not told.*

Such is the story of a campaign in the South fifty years ago. It was an age when all that was noblest and worth the striving after in this world centered in public life. Politics alone gave homogeneity to all classes of society. Every one, the rich planter at the watering places, the gentry at the monthly courts and the militia meets, even the slave in the cotton and rice fields, dreamed of an ideal existence where each, through the gift of oratory as well as of intellect, should be victor in a thousand and one political contests and might frame legislative enactments "world without end." Compared with the civilization of to-day, society was primitive and would hardly be recognized as the antecedent of modern culture. The North Carolina Railroad had not yet been constructed and all traffic with the west was by means of the stage and ox cart. Raleigh and Hillsboro were as far from each other in point of convenience as either is to-day from New York. There was little interest in internal improvements and in 1848 the appropriation for the railway from Danville to Charlotte was defeated because such a road would turn traffic from North Carolina seaports. There were no factories and the prejudices of the ultra Southerners often taxed the manufacturing skill of the good housewives. Yet many things appeal to the sympathies of us who live amid the "weariness, the fever, and the fret" of these modern days with a charm unknown to our generation. The freedom of expression in the press is a contrast to the complicated insinuations of modern journalism. Rev. Thomas Loring could publish a dissertation on "Whig Lies" under fourteen heads and still command the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

*_Standard_, November 14, 1844.

The satires of Holden, the endless bickerings with Gales and Heartt, and the essays and poems in the "old school" style give to these papers a flavor that reminds us of Swift or Addison. Then above all looms the figure of Henry Clay, politician, statesman, and cavalier, as he appears in the campaign of '44, escorted in a landau through the streets of Raleigh by the enthusiastic Whigs, swaying his audience in Capital Square with a magic of words unsurpassed in American oratory, and aged as he was, standing for hours at the grand reception held at the Governor's Mansion and greeting the hundreds of women and children "with a kiss and kind word for all." These reveal to us the chivalry of the past and tell us that the virtues of our fathers live in their children, and lend to the period the charm of an eighteenth century romance.

The attack on Whig leaders and principles continued unabated throughout the next year. Early in 1846 the Democratic Convention assembled and chose Green W. Caldwell as candidate for Governor. Mr. Caldwell refused the nomination and James B. Shepherd was appointed by the Executive Committee to fill his place. His opponent was Governor Graham, who was re-elected by a majority of seven thousand.*

It was evident that a crisis was at hand. The Whig majority in '46 exceeded that of '42 by four thousand, and if the Democrats were to secure the State, now was the time for action. There must be some diversion to check the increasing Whig sentiment. At this critical time appears a new issue that lies at the basis of all representative government, and in its champion a new leader enters into North Carolina politics. The principle is that of free suffrage and its exponent is David Settle Reid, of Rockingham county. Better to comprehend the social and elective status a brief review of the civil government of our State is necessary.

*This year Holden was member of Commons for Wake County.

North Carolina has always been remarkable for its conservative spirit and the secret of this conservatism is found in the old colonial government. The chief magistrate was the Royal Governor, who appointed the Justices of the Peace in the several counties. These officers submitted three names to the Governor, one of whom he appointed Sheriff. The Sheriff collected taxes, executed court decrees, and held the elections for members of the Assembly. The result was that the Justices of the Peace and the Sheriffs soon formed a special caste, and through the influence of their official positions made their nominations for Assemblymen and usually carried the elections. In this way there arose an aristocracy that virtually controlled the colony. Such a government was for the best so long as the character of its citizens was as varied as the settlements. When the last colonial Governor left in 1776 there were two methods by which the government might be continued, popular election or a continuation of the old system. The latter seemed best because the country was so full of Tories that the people could not be trusted to remain faithful to the other colonies, and also the members of the Assembly were unwilling to see the power depart from them. So under the new Constitution the Governor and the Judges were elected by the Assembly, and to insure conservative representation the Senate was placed under the control of the landholders, and only landholders were eligible to represent the people either in Senate or Commons. The law required that a State Senator must own 300 acres and to vote in a senatorial election a man must own 50 acres in the county where he voted. A representative in Commons must own 100 acres and all persons who had paid taxes were allowed to vote. So well did these arrangements work that no change was made until 1835, when a constitutional convention disfranchised the free negro and made the election of Governor popular. State Senators were still elected by the property holders. Oppo-

sition to this law was made the basis of the campaign of 1848.*

It is not known who originated the idea of making free-suffrage the issue. The law had never been popular with the non-landholders. In 1842 a meeting was held in Lenoir county protesting against the property qualification, and a letter was addressed to Louis D. Henry, who was the county's representative in the Legislature. About the same time Green W. Caldwell brought the matter before the Assembly, but it was unfavorably received. Mr. Reid, who was then a member of Congress, had either written or spoken in opposition to the condition of suffrage.† So the issue was not to take the State by surprise. Perhaps it was Stephen A. Douglas who suggested to Holden the new plan for the opposition. All we know is that Holden, before the Democratic convention met, sent a special messenger to bring Reid to Raleigh for consultation. The result was that through Holden's influence Reid received the nomination for Governor. He refused to accept unless a free-suffrage clause was inserted in the platform. The Democrats feared this would cause a division of the party, but finally consented. Perhaps they were urged to accept the amendment by Douglas himself, who was present, and addressed the convention on the national issues "for nearly two hours with a style and force of logic never equalled in that hall, and with such eloquence as drew tears from the eyes of many in the vast multitude about him." Sam Houston, then Senator from Texas, spoke another evening, being introduced as "the laurelled hero of San Jacinto," and of course defended the Mexican war. Among the resolutions adopted was one declaring that "Congress has no control, directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, over the institution of slavery, and that we are opposed to

*"Suffrage in the State of North Carolina," by Prof. J. S. Bassett, Am His. Ass'n Report, 1895.

†Letter from John Nichols, Esq., Raleigh, N. C.

the Wilmot, Winthrop, or Webster proviso in whatever shape it may be presented." In the same year Holden was the delegate to the national convention which met in Baltimore. The Wilmot Proviso was the principle question before that body. The "Barnburners" favored the Proviso and thus "opposed the constitutional rights of the South." The "Old Hunkers" fought the measure. Holden favored the non-interference with slavery in the territories. The campaign was fought in a most energetic manner, with Holden at the press and Reid on the stump. The result was that Charles Manly, the Whig candidate, was elected by the small majority of 854. The Democrats were greatly encouraged. From this time Holden was recognized as a great political leader. In 1850 Reid and Manly were renominated. So strong was the sentiment in favor of free-suffrage that Manly refused to make it the Whig issue. Reid was elected by two thousand majority and the Whigs never again controlled the State. In 1852 Reid was re-elected. He is the only one who has ever been candidate for Governor three times in succession. Vance was thrice a candidate, but not in succession. Free suffrage, after a long fight in the Legislature, triumphed in 1854.

From this time till 1860 the State was under the control of the Democrats. Interest centers not in State politics, but in the National issues. Holden was an ultra-Southerner, a follower of Calhoun, and every editorial on slavery indicates directly or indirectly the condition of public sentiment. In 1849 Holden was among those who advocated a Southern Assembly to express formally the South's position on slavery, believing that to be the "only course to preserve the Union and save the State from accumulated aggression and insult."

"We speak as a citizen, not as a partisan. We love the Union, but we love North Carolina, her vital interests and her untarnished honor more. We would surrender all but these to preserve the Union; surrendering

these, we should announce our willingness to see the State a victim of consolidation and absolute sectional power, and should prove false to our native land."

In commenting upon Calhoun's last speech in the United States Senate, he says too much stress is laid on the balance of classes, the "equilibrium" between the States, and regards the allusion to a constitutional amendment recognizing slavery as unfortunate, for the people have always contended for the constitution as it is, fairly, equitably, and honestly administered. In 1851 he thus expresses his conception of secession:

"We hold the right of secession as an original, pre-existing, reserved sovereign right; that whenever the Constitution is palpably violated by Congress or whenever that body fails to carry out the plain provisions of that instrument when required to protect Southern rights, the Union is dissolved, and that by a sectional majority"—not until then has the State the right to look to "a separate, independent existence." He calls on Legislature to pass resolutions demanding rights of the State and settlement of slavery.—(*January 15.*)

In 1854 appeared this editorial on the growth of abolitionism:

"We verily believe that the worst spirit now out of perdition is the spirit of abolition. It is a compound of ignorance, bigotry, envy, hatred and all uncharitableness. It professes to know even better than the slave does what is best for his own good, for in his case as in others the slave was torn from the owner and forced into freedom."—(*September 6.*)

In the meantime the ranks of the Democrats were dividing into two wings. The movement culminated in the convention of 1858. Col. Edward Cantley, a friend of Holden, arose and moved that as the Democracy of the State was present, the convention resolve itself into a mass meeting and nominate candidate for Governor. Holden and Judge John W. Ellis, of Rowan county, were rivals for the nomination. Holden was undoubtedly the choice of the rank and file, but Ellis received the nomination by a small majority. Moore says the party recognized Holden's ability, but disliked his agrarianism and distrusted his good faith. Such a statement is misleading. Holden's

good faith could hardly be questioned, for he had revolutionized the politics of the State. When he took charge of the *Standard* the Democrats were in the minority and were regarded as "scalawags," for they were opposed to all internal improvements and to progress in general. He changed the attitude of the party in 1848 not only in regard to free suffrage, but he was instrumental in securing the appropriation for the North Carolina Railroad. From this time the Democrats were recognized as the advocates of internal improvement. When the Know Nothing party appeared and threatened a dissolution of his party, Holden remained faithful, and through his efforts the State was saved from the domination of that movement. Perhaps the real cause of his defeat in 1858 was social, not political. He had always been the friend of the common people and took advantage of every opportunity to destroy the aristocratic influence that had prevailed in the State since colonial times, as his policy in 1848 towards suffrage and in 1860 towards taxation demonstrate. In this sense only was he agrarian. That the division of 1858 was social may be verified by the following from the *Raleigh Register:*

"The lawyers and upper crust generally are for Ellis, while the unwashed multitude are for Holden. We think he is entitled to the nomination and are of opinion that it would be a burning shame if one who has spent his life in making great big men out of the very smallest sort of material should be refused the reasonable reward which he so urgently seeks."

Be these things as they may, Holden firmly believed that his defeat was due to the unfair schemes of his enemies. He does not publish the proceedings of the convention and little is known of the transactions of that body. He supported Ellis, who was elected. But the convention of 1858 marks one of the critical points in Holden's career and so is an important event in the history of his party.

PART II.—SECESSION AND PEACE MOVEMENT.

The year 1858 was one of the most critical in the history of the Democratic Party in North Carolina, for it marks the beginning of that disintegration of party unity which proved so disastrous in 1860. The rivalry of Ellis and Holden is not the only omen of the impending crisis. Col. Duncan MacRae opposed Ellis for Governor, differing with the majority of his party in regard to the distribution of the proceeds of public land sales. In the same year Moses A. Bledsoe, of Wake County, introduced a new issue into the politics of the State. The only tax on slave property was a poll of forty cents. Originally the amount of this tax was the same as that on three hundred acres of land. Many changes of course had been made, as any effort to regulate taxation by a land basis must prove a failure so long as the value of land varies. In 1858 the tax on real estate was twelve cents on each valuation of three hundred dollars. This law was unpopular with the small land holders: it was claimed that the proportion of revenue yielded by the land owner when compared with that assessed on slave holders was excessive. In Wake county Mr. Bledsoe was a candidate for the Democratic nomination to the State Senate. He was opposed to the existing condition of taxation and advocated an *ad valorem* system, demanding that slave property be taxed on its face value. As most of the slave owners were Democrats, he lost the nomination, but opposed the regular nominee, Geo. W. Thompson, on an independent ticket. Mr. Bledsoe, after one of the most brilliant campaigns in the history of the State, was elected. Mr. Holden, though at heart in sympathy with the *ad valorem* men, remained true to his party and opposed the measure and its advocates. But in 1859 a *Standard* reporter was refused admittance to a Democratic meeting in Raleigh. The division in the party was deeper than conformity to platform clauses could mend.

These dissentions led Holden to consider the tendencies

of those doctrines which had actuated his party for so many years. The result was that from 1858 to 1860, the National issues are not so prominent in the "Standard" editorials, and in the latter year Holden, who had been regarded as an "extreme Democrat of the Calhoun school," renounced his previous professions and appeared as an open enemy to secession and friend to the Union of the States. This second change of party affiliations naturally brought upon him the condemnation of his former allies. But in this act of apparent perfidy he shows himself to be a most careful and and profound student. He is in many respects the Talleyrand of North Carolina politics. Like the French statesman, he entered life under many disadvantages, renounced the associations of his youth, and was one of the leaders in that social as well as political revolution which destroyed the old regime and placed all citizens on a common basis of suffrage. Within a few years he had become the leading political diplomatist of his State: and now that he had taken the important step of adopting a new policy and principle, he might say Tallyrand-like, that he never deserted his party till it had deserted the true interests of the Nation for those of a section, that he neither served this government or that, and never considered the interests of any party before those of his country. But this change was not, from a party standpoint, so radical as that of 1843, for many of the Democrats besides Holden were true Union men, and always declared that they represented the real Democratic Party and that the secessionists were the bolters. Yet secession was the logical conclusion of the Democratic platforms of the past, and members of that party were the authors of the Confederacy.

In 1860 Governor Ellis was renominated for office by the Democrats. Mr. Holden abandoned his previous attitude towards taxation, and joined the *ad valorem* wing of that party. John Pool was nominated in opposition to Ellis, but was defeated. The cause of *ad valorem* taxation was

lost in the Union, but it became the legal system for slave taxation during the Confederacy.

In the same year Mr. Holden was one of the North Carolina delegates to the famous Charleston Convention. The account of the proceedings of that assembly, taken from his private memoirs, not only describes North Carolina's position on the great issue of that time, but is also a valuable sidelight on the condition of feeling throughout the South. It proceeds as follows:

"In the winter of 1860-'61, a State Convention of the Democratic Party was held in Raleigh, and delegates were appointed to a National Convention to be held in Charleston, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

"The delegates appointed to represent the State, were: Bedford Brown, William S. Ashe, Waightstill W. Avery, and W. W. Holden. I travelled to Charleston with Hon. Bedford Brown. I found Hon. R. P. Dick there already.

"And here commences a most important sketch of my history. I had been acting for a long time with the States Rights Party, (not of the Yanceyites) but was in accord with Jackson, Van Buren, and Bedford Brown. I was a State delegate and had a right to speak for the State with Messrs. Ashe, Avery, and Brown. I was jealous for the so-called rights of the South, on the question of slavery, and greatly concerned at the apparently impending election of a sectional candidate for Presidency. But I was not a Secessionist nor a Revolutionist. I was strongly attached to the Union of the States, and felt myself to be a *National* man. But for what I saw and heard, I might have gone with my party and been a Secessionist.

"When I reached Charleston I was taken aside by a friend in whom I had full confidence, who said, 'Holden, I know you want to do right; I have been here for a day, and I have information of a purpose on the part of some of our Southern friends to dissolve the Union.' I was

greatly surprised and concerned. He said to me, 'I give you to-night to listen and learn, and in the morning tell me what you think, and what your purpose is.'

"The night of the day on which we all reached Charleston, we held a meeting in our delegation room and Mr. Senator Bayard of Delaware presided. A motion was made to appoint a committee from our delegation to visit the Southern delegations, and confer with them, mainly because some of them were natives of North Carolina. This motion was opposed by Bedford Brown, R. P. Dick, and myself, and voted down. We maintained that it would be a sectional act and under the circumstances would be improper. And there I saw the cropping out of the purpose of which my friend had just warned me. Colonel Bedford Brown had just said to me, 'Mr. Holden, our delegation has very properly decided not to send officially any one to visit the Southern delegates, but we can go as individuals to a great meeting to be held to-night, near this place on Charleston Street. I propose to go, will you go?' William A. Moore of Edenton was standing by, and said he would go too. The meeting was held upstairs in a very large room which was filled. I heard several speeches and they were all for disunion, save the short speech made by Colonel Bedford Brown. Mr. William L. Yancey of Alabama spoke first, for a considerable time. He was followed by Mr. Glenn, Attorney General of Mississippi. Colonel Brown then took the floor, being called out by Mr. Glenn who was his kinsman. He made a conservative Union speech, and was interrupted, and scraped, and laughed down. An Arkansas Militia General whose name I have forgotten, and who was unknown in the conflct between the North and South, replied to Colonel Brown, and ridiculed his views, amid general and vehement applause. Colonel Brown then turned to me and said, 'Mr. Holden, let us shake off the dust from our feet, of this disunion conventicle and retire.'

"We returned to the Charleston Hotel, and very soon a large crowd with a band of music appeared at the front of the hotel. Speaking was going on at various points, and presently, some bold fellow in front of the hotel shouted, 'Three cheers for the Star Spangled Banner!' and fled for his life. The reply was from the crowd, '*Damn* the Star Spangled Banner, tear it down.'

"The next morning I told my friend who had warned me of the danger of disunion, and of bolting the body, that my mind was made up, and that I would stand by the American Union at all hazards and to the last extremity. A few days afterwards while the vote was going on, and while South Carolina and Georgia and Mississippi and Florida and Arkansas and other States south of us were bolting, another friend of mine, Mr. R. C. Pearson, of Burke, approached me from the rear, and said to me most earnestly, 'You must make a speech and hold our delegations against going out.' He had come for me through the Virginia delegation who sat in the rear, 'For' said he, 'from what I have heard, if our delegates go out, Virginia will go out also, and the Convention will be broken up.' I said, 'Mr Pearson, I am not in the habit of speaking very often—there are 600 delegates here, and a vast audience besides—it would be a piece of assurance on my part, to attempt to address this body at this time, especially amid this excitement, with Mr. Cushing, the President of the body, hostile to Mr. Douglas and his friends I can't get a hearing.' 'Yes you can,' said he, 'I will go around and speak to the Indiana, the Illinois and the Ohio delegations, and ask them when you arise to speak, to insist on North Carolina being heard.' I then told him I would try as soon as Mr. Seward of Georgia took his seat. I arose and said, 'Mr. President, Mr. Holden of North Carolina.' Mr. Cushing sat for twenty seconds and did not recognize me. Then the States mentioned arose and demanded in a voice of thunder that North Carolina be

heard. Mr. Cushing arose and bowed, and gave me the floor. I spoke for ten minutes. I told the Convention I had been sent there by the State of North Carolina, one of the four State delegates; that I could not be a party to any steps looking to disunion; that my party had sent me to maintain and preserve, and not destroy the bonds of the Union; that by an immense majority the people of my State, with *George Washington* the Father of the Country, would frown indignantly on the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various points."

In his editorials on the Convention he gives further emphasis to the position of North Carolina:

"If North Carolina had gone out, or even waivered, the middle States of Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri would have followed her example and only the non-slaveholding States would have remained. This would have rendered the Charleston Convention a sectional body without authority to adjourn as a National Convention. The party would therefore have gone to pieces at Charleston, having no common basis on which to re-construct or re-unite its disjointed party. By her firm stand, North Carolina saved the party, and to that extent contributed to save the Union."*

On Holden's return from Charleston, he attended the meeting of the Wake county delegates assembled to nominate candidates for the Legislature and addressed them "in most earnest terms against Secession and disunion." Resolutions agreeing with his sentiments were adopted by the Convention. "Only one man of that large body voted for disunion."†

In June, Mr. Holden was one of the State's delegates to the Second National Convention of the Democrats which met in Baltimore. Again sectional strife dominated the National interests of the party. The Southern extremists bolted, and nominated Breckenridge of Kentucky for the Presidency; while the Convention supported Stephed A.

*May 16, 1860. †Memoirs (unpublished.)

Douglas. The North Carolina delegates were divided, some joining the Secessionists, but Holden maintained a neutral position.

"We declined to secede at Baltimore, but out of respect for the opinions of the fifteen delegates who did and because of the impending elections at home . . . we declined to act or to vote, after the President of the Convention and so many of colleagues had retired. If we had voted at all, we would certainly have voted for Stephen A. Douglas."

The Charleston and Baltimore Conventions were forcible object lessons of those principles which soon plunged the Nation into war. Mr. Holden's policy in those critical months was temporising. He bitterly opposed the Secessionists, but the idea of a moral union never appears in any of his editorials. He held to the old compact view of the Union.

"We believe that the Constitution adopted by the people in 1798, established a government of delegated powers; that the States parted with only so much of their sovereignty as was necessary to render this government efficient as a common agent; that the powers not delegated were reserved to the States respectively or to the people; and that if this government should violate the Constitution and attempt to oppress or injure the minority, that the majority thus controlling the government and violating the Constitution, will have committed a revolution; and that in such an event the majority States would be released and would have the right to secede from the majority and establish a new Federal Union, or to take any other steps which they might deem necessary to their protection, prosperity and happiness."

He declared that a battle was at hand "between the people on the one hand and privileges on the other: between Union and Disunion;" that as yet there is no cause for secession and he "who would deliberately dissolve and destroy the National Democratic party while it stands upon its old and well-known doctrine of non-intervention has but one more step to take to become a disunionist"*

Such being his interpretation of the Constitution, he recognized Douglas as the regular nominee of his party, but in the campaign he supported the Southern ticket on these

*July 11, 1860.

conditions: "That the electors will vote for the strongest man, Breckenridge or Douglass as the case may be, against Lincoln. That is, if the vote of this State will elect either of them over Lincoln, or will put either of them in the House, it is to be cast accordingly. But if the vote will elect neither, nor put either of them in the House, the electors to vote as they please."*

The election of Lincoln hastened the National crisis and made secession more imminent. Though the defeat of the Democrats was the victory of the non-slaveholding section, Holden still supported the National Government, refusing to regard Lincoln's election as a cause for the withdrawal from the union of the States. Speaking of the "hounds of power," "the fire eaters" who will attack North Carolina and try to force her to secede, he says:

"Let them come. We will receive them with hot shot from this old Democratic battery, and send them howling to their masters. We shall stand like a rock against both disunion and submission. We shall call on the people to come to the rescue. . . . Let them say to the fire eaters, thus far but no farther. Let them tell their representatives that no consultation with other States is necessary, if it be their determination to remain in the Union and give Lincoln a trial."

When South Carolina seceded, and the other cotton States were about to join her, he declared that North Carolina's position was not weakened but strengthened, and and called on the border States to intercede and prevent war.

"Let Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and North Carolina, staud where they are, so as to be in a situation to act as mediators between the North and the South. It may be that the glory has been reserved for these Middle States of reconciling with each other brethren of extreme views, and of thus preventing the final overthrow of our system."

On January 1, 1861, the Legislature passed an act which declared "that the sovereign people of the State should assemble in convention to effect an honorable adjustment of

*August 15, 1860.

the difficulties, whereby the Federal Union is endangered, or likewise to determine what action will best preserve the honor and promote the interest of North Carolina." The time set for election of delegates was in February, but whether the convention should ever assemble was to be decided by the people. George E. Badger, Quenten Busbee, and Holden, were Union candidates for Wake county. Party lines were disregarded and the people voted against the convention. The Union sentiment predominated in North Carolina.

In April news arrived of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Although Holden disapproved of South Carolina's action, he maintained that the Union could not be maintained by force, and that if President Lincoln should attempt to suppress the seceding States by force, he would by his voluntary action abrogate the Union. Now, more than ever, the mission of the border States was to maintain peace. "If they cannot check and control the two extremes, no other power can." The war proclamation was soon issued, the last link that bound the South to the Union was broken.

"The proclamation of Lincoln . . . has completed the sectionalism of the country. . . . The Union cannot be maintained by force. Men cannot be whipped into freedom. . . . The proclamation of Lincoln is a gross usurpation. He has broken the Constitution. He has assumed and is now exercising unrelegated powers. . . . The Confederate States have grievously erred—they fired the first gun at Charleston—they provoked the war. Admit all this, and still there is no justification for an attempt on the part of Mr. Lincoln to involve the whole country in war and bloodshed. . . . Unchain the tornado and then bid it become a zephyr! Command Niagara to freeze as it falls—civil wars are the worst of all wars."

To border states—"We must unite and command the peace if possible; if we fail in that, *we must* fight."

On May 1st, the Legislature passed a second act calling for a convention to assemble in Raleigh on May 20th. The meeting of this convention was not subject to the will of the people. The delegates met on the appointed day and ordinances of secession were adopted. Holden is said

to have fixed his signature to the Secession document with a gold pen purchased for the purpose and to have exclaimed, "This is the greatest act of my life."

The Secession convention was the occasion of a re-forming of political affiliations. The Whigs who had opposed the war to the last extremity, such as Badger, Graham, and Vance, united with Holden and the Union Democrats, and were designated Conservatives. The original Secessionists and their followers were still known as Democrats. An extended discussion of the history of these parties is not necessary. The war absorbed the attention of all for the next two years. In August, 1862, Colonel Zebulon Vance was elected Governor by the Conservatives over Colonel William Johnston, of Charlotte, the Democratic candidate. Holden was an ardent supporter of Vance, was influential in securing for him the Conservative nomination, and on the day of inauguration the Governor-elect privately submitted his address to Holden's criticism. There was apparently perfect harmony among the people regarding the war until the summer of 1863, when not only the State Government, but also the whole Confederacy, was thrown into confusion by what has been called the "Peace Movement." This has been greatly misunderstood, and its leaders too unjustly condemned. It was but the popular expression of a desire for peace which was not unknown in the councils of many of the leading Confederate statesmen. In fact, the principal differences between the Peace Party in North Carolina and other advocates of cessation of hostilities, were that the former (1) had its genesis in personal grievances of the people against the Confederate administration, and (2) its leaders were more pronounced and radical as to the measures to which the authorities should resort to secure peace.

The movement was spontaneous in its origin. It spread like wild fire throughout the State in August and September, 1863, and it produced, in the short time of eight

weeks, one hundred meetings that condemned the Administration and demanded peace. It was the result of an inefficient central government and of the gradual occupation of Southern territory by the Federal army. Holden was its acknowledged leader, though he denied that the demand for peace was first made by him. The Conservatives and Democrats united for the suppression of the new party. Perhaps the ablest statements concerning the conditions of Noth Carolina politics at this time are to be found in the Hillsboro *Recorder*, articles transcribed from the Fayetteville *Observer*, a Conservative organ, and from the *Standard*. A consideration of the arguments of these papers reveals the real condition of the Confederacy from the point-of-view of contemporaries and so gives the most adequate view of the claims of the peace men.

"When our people separated from the Federal Union and united themselves with the government at Montgomery," says Holden, "they did so in the belief that men of all shades of opinions would thenceforth be political equals, and that the form of government adopted would be so administered as to preserve the rights of the sovereign States and protect free expression of thought and opinion. In this they have been grievously disappointed." Party lines should have been laid aside and the energies of all directed against the common enemy. The Administration failed to appreciate this necessity and the central government became extremely partisan. No citizens who did not regard Lincoln's proclamation as ground for dissolution were admitted to the Cabinet, and in the words of Mr. Hale, the editor of the *Observer*, old Whigs as Badger, Graham, Vance, Gilmer, as well as Holden and the Union Democrats, were denounced as "faithless to the South, opposed to the war, and in favor of reconstruction." Holden says that those who protested against the partisanship of the Richmond authorities were threatened with a "hideous mark" which should disgrace them and their

families. In 1862 the *Observer* was charged with favoring the Union because Mr. Hale supported Vance.

This was the basis of discontent; but there were other more immediate causes. First, the rights of the States and liberty of citizens were infringed. When North Carolina seceded the individual States were the masters of the new system. But now war is no longer voluntary, "the conscription and tithing laws leave nothing to the States, but the central government takes our fighting men with one hand, and the tenth of our substance with the other." The Richmond authorities, in addition to recruiting those of legal age for war, often impressed into service men over forty years of age, and so arranged that what little produce was raised in the various States should all be taken to provide for the army. "Seizures of persons and property," he continues, "have become as common as they are in France or Russia. Personal liberty has been made dependent on the mere will of any officers appointed by the President. . . . Our courts, when they have interposed to protect these unfortunates and to uphold the law, have been disregarded in many instances and their integrity reflected on in gross terms by the war department at Richmond."

Financial depression was another grievance. The Confederate currency was gradually repudiated. In one instance a Cabinet officer refused to accept the legal tender of his own government. Ten dollars in gold would buy one hundred in Confederate Bank notes. When the Confederation was formed, President Davis was urged to buy cotton and make it the basis of supplies and currency, and then call for 500,000 volunteers. Instead he ordered 15,000 stand of arms and borrowed $15,000,000. Also the State governments were in debt. North Carolina's was one-tenth the value of the entire State if sold for cash.

But that which aroused the greatest resentment was the treatment of North Carolina troops. She furnished more

than her quota of men, who fought in the war in every engagement and were then denied their merited praise. Officers from other States were appointed to command them and when native North Carolinians were promoted they were of the same political affiliations as the Administration. The "crowning outrage" was reached when Major Bradford of Virginia was appointed to collect tithes in North Carolina. "This led to the first public meeting in the State."

Other charges against the Government were that the people had been deceived by the idea that cotton would insure success, and that France or Europe would interfere. The loss of the Mississippi was attributed to the inability of "pet Generals." "Our armies are not materially increasing while our enemies are recruiting from twenty million people," besides the European immigrants. Finally secession was brought about by a few politicians. The "people did not desire to secede;" they were willing to try Lincoln to see if the body of the people would not restore the nation. But the precipiation of the Southern States and Lincoln's cruel policy would not allow this. North Carolina was therefore compelled to fight against her will. This was an able argument and its validity was recognized by the Conservatives as well as the "Peace" men. The Union sentiment in North Carolina was stronger than in any other Southern State with the exception of the "border States." Madison county, in proportion to her population, contributed more men to the army than any other county in the Union. In September 1864, Governor Vance, in a letter to a friend, said: "The *great popular heart* is not now, and never has been in this war. It is a revolution of the *Politicians*, not the people; and is fought at first by the natural enthusiasm of our young men, and has been kept going by State and sectional power, assisted by that bitterness of feeling produced by the cruelties and brutalities of the enemy."

The great result of this maladministration, says Mr. Holden, is that "slavery has suffered more injury during the last two years than would probably have befallen it in the long sweep of fifty years under the old Government. The peculiar champions of the institution have placed it, we fear, on the high road to extinction. And just here, we beg leave to say to the *Observer*, is the source of one of the most serious apprehensions of the people. The sudden emancipation of our slaves in our midst would be the greatest blow which could be inflicted on Southern society. It would ruin this generation beyond redemption and its effects would be seen for ages to come. Nor would this ruin be partial. It would ruin the non-slaveholders as well as the slave holders and finally the slave himself. Subjection, if it should be in reserve for us, would be emancipation." Hence the people desire something better than subjection in the last resort. Peace cannot come through the Confederate Government for Lincoln will only treat on an unconditional surrender, and the Confederate Administration has sworn never to yield except independence be granted. But if Mr. Lincoln will not hear the Confederacy, he might hear sovereign States. Co-operation might be accomplished among the States, war cease, and the questions at issue be left to Statesmen to settle. This would not depress the soldiers; they would fight better when they knew that the people at home were working for peace. The old form of government is not to be desired; but peace would be far more acceptable than the present condition of Mississippi and Louisiana.

These arguments of the Peace men could not be refuted. Mr. Hale, in defence of the administration, could only charge the agitators of being friends and relatives of deserters and non-slave holders, who believed the war was waged against slavery, and consequently were out of sympathy with the Government because it involved destruction of property. This is a plausable explanation

but is not satisfactory when the various locations of dissatisfaction are considered. As before said, there were one hundred Peace meetings. These were held in all parts of the State, especially in the Central and Western regions. Transylvania, Buncombe, Wautauga, Wilkes, Yadkin, Forsythe, Guilford, Henderson, Rutherford, Alamance, Iredell, Davie, Rowan, Cabarras, Randolph, Mecklenburg, Stanley, Moore, Wake, Granville, Nash and Wayne were some of the counties in which mass meetings were held reproaching Davis and his cabinet and calling for overtures for peace. In Wayne the dissatisfaction was so great that the women of the county convened and protested against the devastations of their homes produced by the ineffective policy of those who controlled the Government. The disaffection was not local but spread to the army. In order to check it the officers held anti-Holden meetings and finally the *Standard* was not allowed to be circulated among privates. The following is a letter to Holden from asoldier at Kinston:

"The meeting held in this city to act on your course was composed of officers and privates, but the privates had no part in it. They were present, but they did not dare say anything. If the privates could have voted their sentiments, two-thirds of them would have endorsed your views. The soldiers are mad to think that they have got to be represented as being against the *Standard* when it is not so. All they wish is a vote by ballot. . . . We in the 42d are deprived of the privilege of reading the *Standard* unless we do it slyly, as the Colonel has forbidden them to be brought into camp."*

Another writes and asks Holden not to show his letter or use his name—for if the officers were to hear of his letter they would punish him. Letters also came to the *Standard* office from soldiers in South Carolina and Georgia. But Holden always denied that he favored desertions in the army. His motto was to fight with one hand and bear the olive branch in the other.

Holden and his followers were bitterly condemned by

* *Standard*, September 3, 1863.

both Conservatives and Democrats. In Charlotte the people burned him in effigy. In September, 1863, a company of Georgia troops passing through Raleigh attacked the *Standard* office, destroyed the presses, and Holden himself was only saved by the intervention of Governor Vance. The next day the Peace men retaliated by demolishing the office of the *State Journal*, the Administration organ. They in turn dispersed at the request of Vance. Vance's official letter to President Davis explains the event in detail:

September 11, 1863.

"The country is in a dangerous excitement and it will require the utmost skill and tact to guide it through safely and honorably. The soldiers who originated the mob belonged to Benning's Brigade and were led by their officers, several of whom I saw in the crowd, but heard none of their names except a Major Shepherd. I have also reasons for believing it was done with a knowledge and consent of General Benning, as he remarked to a gentleman an hour or two previous that his men had threatened it. During its continuance he could not be found, a messenger sent by me to his supposed quarters at the depot was refused admission to him, and although he had ample opportunity after the occurrence to have seen or written to me disclaiming this outrage upon the honor and peace of North Carolina, he did not do so."

The Peace men were largely discontented Conservatives. When Vance was made Governor in 1862, it was understood that he was not in sympathy with President Davis and his policy. But Holden declares that in "August and September, 1863, after he (Vance) had visited Richmond and talked with Mr. Davis he fell into new and curious ways. In a word, he left entirely the thousands upon thousands who had made him Governor and placed himself at the head of the Secessionists of the State." This was admitted by all the Conservatives, for Mr. Hale says in his article elsewhere referred to that now (1863) Governor Vance has an understanding with Mr. Davis and there need be no further dissatisfaction with the Administration.* Early in 1864 the Confederate Congress passed

*Governor Vance publicly expressed his change of attitute toward Davis in a speech at Wilkesboro.

an act suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in certain cases, among which were the following:

I. Of treason or treasonable efforts or combinations to subvert the Government of the Confederate States.

II. Of conspiracies to overthrow the Government, or conspiracies to resist the lawful authority of the Confederate States.

III. Of persons aiding or inciting others to abandon the Confederate cause, or to resist the Confederate States, or to adhere to the enemy.

How far these clauses were directed against the Peace advocates remains unknown. Mrs. Spencer tells us that "Mr. Holden deemed it prudent to suspend the issue of his paper for two months in the spring of 1864, in consequence of the act suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*." But the *Standard* did not suspend issue till after the elections of 1864.

On February 10, 1864, a mass-meeting of the discontented was held in Raleigh, and resolutions were adopted requesting Josiah Turner, one of North Carolina's representatives in the Confederate Congress, to have the writ of *habeas corpus* put in force again, and also recommended Holden as candidate for Governor in the coming elections. "That as Governor Vance has voluntarily and for reasons best known to himself, made his bed with the destruction leaders, we are indisposed to go over to that side of the house to remove him to his former place. His attempt to transfer his old friends to the support of the Destructives, and his wretched jokes at a time like this, when our people are almost literally bathed in blood and tears, in the midst of their sacrifices and sufferings, will neither add to the dignity of his office nor convince the judgment of his hearers. We shall vote against him with as much good will as we voted for him two years ago." This document was signed by Lynn Adams, chairman; D. A. Wicker and J. N. Bunting, secretaries. Vance was re-elected by a

large majority. The Peace meetings were finally suppressed by force, and the defeat of 1864 marks the culmination of the movement. But until the close of the war there remained a disconted element in the State.

It remains to consider the grievances of the Peace Party as viewed by the Conservatives and other supporters of the Confederacy. The causes of this discontent were not charges trumped up by enemies of the South. The conditions of the government were just as the *Standard* portrays them, and they caused both Vance and Davis much trouble. The following extracts from Vance's letter-book corroborate the claims of the Peace men:*

I. CONSCRIPTIONS.

RALEIGH, N. C., January 26, 1863.

Hon. James H. Seddon, Secretary of War, Richmond, Va.:

SIR:—I had the honor to complain to His Excellency the President and your immeditate predecessor, Mr. Randolph, in regard to the manner of enforcing the Conscript Act in this State, and of disposing of men in regiments during the month of October last. I am compelled again, greatly to my grief, to complain of the appointment of Colonel August as Commandant of Conscrips for North Carolina, who has recently assumed command here.

Merely alluding to the obvious impropriety and bad policy of wounding the sensibilities of our people, by the appointment of a citizen of another State, to execute a law both harsh and odious, I wish to say, sir, in all candor, that it smacks of discourtesy to our people, to say the least of it. Having furnished as many (if not more) troops for the service of the Confederacy as any other State, and being, as I was assured by the President, far ahead of all others in the number raised by the Conscript Law, the people of this State feel mortified in seeing those troops commanded by citizens of other States, to the exclusion of the claims of their own. This feeling is increased and heightened into a general indignation when it is thus officially announced that North Carolina has no man in her borders to command her own conscrips. While scores of her noblest sons and best officers are now at home with mutilated limbs and shattered constitutions."

To Jas. H. Seddon, Secretary of War:

"Gen. Pillow has sent a detachment of cavalry into Western North Carolina to enroll and arrest conscrips without the shadow of law and in defiance of the proper authorities. . . .

*July 6, 1863. Disapproves of the appointment of Bradford as Tax Collector for North Carolina. Also officers speculating privately.

"Please order it stopped through Col. Collart, of Greenvile, Tenn., or there will be resistence and bloodshed.

"Raids by cavalry bands in the west were another abuse that made the people restive. People were arrested by Confederate soldiers from other States. At another time a young man by the name of Axby, in Cherokee county, was carried off by some Georgia troops. 'As such proceedings can not be tolerated for a moment, I have issued orders *pendante dite* to the State officers of that county to call out the militia and shoot the first man who attempts to perpetuate a similar outrage without the Marshall of that district.' "

March 25, 1863.

"If God Almighty had yet in store another plague worse than all others, which he intended to have let loose on the Egyptians, in case Pharoah still hardened his heart, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half armed, half disciplined Confederate cavalry. Had they been turned loose on Pharoah's subjects with or without an impressment law, he would have become so sensible of the anger of God, that he never would have followed the children of Israel to the Red Rea. No, sir, not an inch . . unless something can be done, I shall be compelled in some sections to call out my militia and levy actual war against them."

In December 1863, Gov. Vance made the following recommendation to President Davis, concerning the attitude of the Government toward the peace agitators.

"After a careful consideration of all sources of discontent in North Carolina, I have concluded that it will be impossible to remove it, except by making some effort at negotiation with the enemy. The recent action of the Federal House of Representatives, though meaning very little, has greatly excited the public hope that the Northern mind is looking toward peace. I am promised, by all men who advocate the course, that if fair terms are rejected it will tend greatly to strengthen and intenstfy the war feeling, and will rally all classes to a more cordial support of the Government. And, although our position is well known as demanding only to be let alone, yet it seems to me for sake of humanity, without having any weak or improper motives attributed to us, we might with propriety constantly tender negotiations. In doing so we could keep conspicuously before the world a disclaimer of our responsibility for the great slaughter of our race, and convince the humblest of our citizens—who sometimes forget the actual situation—that the Government is tender of their lives and happiness, and would not prolong their sufferings unnecessarily one moment. Though statesmen might regard this as useless, the people will not, and I think our cause will be strengthened thereby. I have not suggested the method of these negotiations or their terms. The effort to obtain peace is the principle."

In reply to this Mr. Davis said that he had made "three

distinct efforts to communicate with the authorities at Washington," and each had proved unsuccessful. "The attempt again to send commissioners or agents to propose peace, is to invite insult and contumely, and to subject ourselves to indignity without the slightest chance of being listened to." Peace could only be obtained by the unconditioned surrender of the Confederacy, and this was foreign to the councils of both Vance and Davis.

From this correspondence it is evident that both Holden and Vance were dissatisfied with the Confederacy. But Vance favored waging war to its bitter end. There was no hope for a peace on the terms of the Confederacy, and the Southern States were doomed. Holden and the peace men wished to make constant overtures for peace, and when the end was certain, advocated peace on any terms rather than the useless slaughter of the Southern army. Unfortunately those who were contemporaries of the war and have since attempted to write its history, have neglected to treat of Holden and his party. Says Major Moore: "The seige of Petersburg went on, and the sad news of Gen. Early's defeats in the valley came ever and anon to add fresh sorrow and despair to the South, but with a blind and desperate disregard of the situation, no hand was lifted to stay the slaughter or make terms amid so many combatants." Yet a few pages further he condems the peace men as unfaithful to their country.

To the peace men were attributed all the misfortunes and reverses of the war. A loyal Confederate in his diary makes these charges.

September 25, 1863.

Had Holden and Company done as he did the 4th April, 1861, we would now have been enjoying a blissful peace and separation from the vile Yankee. We could without the loss of all honor and thousands of our best men left to their families, home and country. The blood of these are upon the skirts of Holden and his coadjutors to a more or less degree, I have no doubt. What does he or they care for the soldier he or they have duped when he is tried by court marshall and shot? And many have thus gone leaving a blasting stigma on his home for his friends to inherit."

March 4, 1864.

"The *Standard* edited by Mr. Holden, of Ralegh, has been a schism, etc., from the first and has been the direct causes of many desertions and many executions of our brave soldiers of this State. He has built up what he calls a Conservative party whose members are doing much injury to our cause, particularly in the upper regions of the State, and murder and robbery have in many instances been the result."

It is impossible to determine in any definite and final terms the influence of the Peace movement, for it was suppressed by the civil and military authorities. Perhaps the mass-meetings were not so great a danger to the Confederacy as they have been regarded. Says Mr. Holden: "I think it more than likely that these meetings were safety valves to the Confederacy; for the people at home, having expressed their views and opinions and finding that nothing could be done to arrest the war, relapsed into their condition of suffering endurance, and 'waded deeper,' as Major Moore says, 'into the crimson flood.'" Whether the efforts towards peace in North Carolina were connected with the similar agitations in the North, remains unknown. However, a gentleman recently told me that he once saw in some war files of the New York *Herald* an article that stated that overtures for peace were constantly expected from North Carolina; and in January, 1864, Vance wrote as follows to a friend: "It is now a fixed policy of Mr. Holden and others to call a convention in May to take North Carolina back to the United States, and the agitation has already begun. Resolutions advocating this course were prepared a few days ago in the *Standard* office and sent to Johnston county to be passed at a public meeting next week, and a series of meetings are to be held all over the State." When Sherman's army entered the State the soldiers expected to be well received, for they believed that a Union sentiment prevailed in North Carolina and that her citizens favored peace.

Whatever may be said regarding the Peace agitators, this fact so well stated by Mr. Holden, remains true.

"North Carolina very reluctantly followed her compatriots of the Southern States in resisting the authority of the Union. The chief corner stone of the Confederacy was the right of secession. North Carolina, therefore was a sovereign State, and had a right to do whatever she deemed best for the protection and prosperity of her people." So the peace movement was another result of those principles that precipitated secession and war. In regard to Mr. Holden's public life, his political relations during the war alienated from him many of those who had been his friends in the early days of the Confederacy. He and his opponents of the old Whig Party were conciliated at the secession convention. But his position from 1863 to the close of the war again separated him from his old friends. The breach was increased and made lasting by the events soon to take place during the days of Reconstruction.

KING'S MOUNTAIN EXPEDITION.

BY DAVID VANCE AND ROBERT HENRY.

[Continued from Page 35.]

At the time when the news of Cates' defeat reached Colonel Charles McDowell he had detached Colonels Shelby and Sevier to go around Ferguson's camp to dislodge some British and Tories on the Enoree, near to Ninety-Six. He then sent an express to Shelby to take care of himself, for Gates was defeated. Whereupon Shelby made the best of his way around Ferguson, and fell in with Charles McDowell and the main body retreating towards Gilbert Town. Then it was suggested by Shelby that a sufficient force could be raised over the mountains, with the assistance from Wilkes and Surry counties, to defeat Ferguson. This was agreed to by all the officers present. The troops were raised without government orders; each man had to furnish his own provisions, arms, ammunition, horse, and all his equipage, without the value of a gun-flint from the public; without

pay, or expectation of pay or reward, even to the amount of a Continental dollar, depreciated to eight hundred to one. They were all volunteers; they were under no compulsion to go, but each man in advance consulted his own courage, well knowing he was going to fight before his return. They started in a rainy, inclement season of the year, without baggage wagon, pack-horse, or tent cloth, across the most rugged bar of mountains in the State, and almost pathless, having only a hunter's trail to travel, followed Ferguson through all his windings; at length overtook him at King's Mountain, where he boasted the morning of the battle that "he was on King's Mountain, and that he was king of that mountain, and that God Almighty could not drive him from it." There we overhauled him, fought him two to one, hence their fire was double that of ours; yet we killed 287 [247] of them, to 143 they killed of us. Yet the fate of nations and of battles turn on a pivot. Ferguson, a prudent officer, finding himself beset and surrounded on all sides, ordered his regulars, who had muskets and bayonets, to charge bayonet on Major Chronicle's South Fork boys. The regulars having discharged their muskets at a short distance with effect, in turn the Fork boys discharged their rifles with fatal effect and keeping before the points of the bayonets about twenty feet, until they loaded again. when they discharged their rifles, each man dropped his man. This was treatment that British courage could not stand; they in turn retreated with precipitation; then the flag was hoisted, and all was over.

If they had succeeded in the charge, it would have made a pass-way for his army, and they might have turned on our line on the one side of the hill, and defeated us in detail, or have made good their march to Lord Cornwallis at Charlotte, either of which would have been disasterous to the American cause. We had neither a coward or a traitor to face the hill that day. We were the bravest of

the brave; we were a formidable flock of blue hen's chickens of the game blood, of indomitable courage, and strangers to fear. We were well provided with sticks; we made the egg-shells.—British and Tory skulls—fly like union pealings in a windy day; the blue cocks flapped their wings and crowed—"we are all for liberty these times;" and all was over; our equals were scarce, and our superiors hard to find.

Taking the whole campaign, including the battle, I know of no parallel to it in the annals of ancient or modern warfare; the nearest was that of the Grecian Leonidas and his army at the batte of Thermopylæ with the Great Xerxes. Leonidas and his army were found, victualed and clothed at public expense; each individual of our army had to find at his own expense; Leonidas' army were under government orders; we were under no government at all, but were volunteers; Leonidas' army were furnished with arms and camp equipage; we had to find our own arms, amunition and horses at our own expense; Leonidas' army were under government pay; we were under no pay or reward or the expectation of any; Leonidas' army had choice of ground at the pass at Thermopylæ; our enemies had the boasted choice of ground; Leonidas' army had to fight superior numbers—so had we; Leonidas had never a coward—neither had we any; but Leonidas had a traitor who was his overthrow and destruction of all but one man; we had neither coward or traitor to face our enemy—hence we were successful; Leonidas would have been successful, and have defeated or put to flight the Great Xerxes if he had not had a traitor aboard; Leonidas' defeat was the destruction of the fine country of Greece, and the burning and destruction of their fine city of Athens, the labor of ages. Our success was the salvation of our county and our liberty. There is no parallel here; we will see if there is in modern times.

The generosity and patriotism of the Great Washington

has been justly boasted of; he did not charge the United States anything for his services during the Revolution; he was found his food and camp equipage by the public, and everything else that he stood in need of; his necessary incidental expenses he kept an accurate account of, and they were paid by the public; he was paid for everything else but his military services. This has been justly considered as great generosity and patriotism and ought never to be forgotten. But this flight of the blue hen's chickens threw this into the shade of an eclipse.

Now we will make the comparison. Washington was rich, and had no family to provide for. We were poor and had families to provide for. He was provided with a horse, victuals, clothing, arms, camp equipage and necessary attendance; we had to provide our own horse, victuals, clothing, arms, amunition and blankets at our own expense. He charged nothing for his military services; neither did we charge anything for our military services, nor did we receive anything for them; he fought the battles of our country with success; we did the same. The expedition against Fergurson, including the battle of King's Mountain, did not cost the State or the United States, the worth of a single continental dollar depreciated down to eight hundred to one. It was all done to the expense of bravery of the actors in that transaction. There is no parallel here.

We will take a view of the situation of the country after the defeat of Gates and Sumpter, and before Fergurson's defeat. Cornwallis was in Charlotte with a large army; Rowdan was in Camden with another large army; Leslie was at Winsbororough with a considerable army; Conger at Ninety Six with a large army; McGirt, Cunningham and Brown, each having considerable force, carrying on a savage warfare of murdering, robbing, burning and destroying. George Lumpkin, Ben Moore and others in Lincoln County, the chief of plunderers, Tarleton

and Wemyss having large bodies of draggoons, the best mounted of any that were ever in the United States. For on the fall of Charleston, the British deluged the country with counterfeit Continental bills, sending emmisaries through the three Southern States to purchase up all the best horses belonging to the Whigs, at any price. Besides these armies, numerous squads of Tories, wherever they could collect ten or twelve, were plundering, robbing, and destroying the last piece of property they could lay their hands on belonging to the Whigs. To finish the list, Furgurson with about 1,200 men, three-fourths Tories, whose principal business it was to destroy Whig stock. It is to be observed, that more than one-half of their armies consisted of Tories.

This is a statement of facts that needs no proof; they cannot be contradicted or denied, for everybody knows them to be true. This statement does not take into view the garrisons at Charleston, Savannah, Augusta and other places in the lower country, or the numererous bodies of Tories in the lower part of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia completely under British rule, and North Carolina at the eve of it. We had no army in any of the three Southern States, under Government orders, of any account that I know of, except the poor fragments of Gates' defeated army, lying near the Virginia line. Marion's troops were volunteers, for the State, was under British rule. The Mecklenburg Hornets were volunteers from the counties of Rowan, Lincoln and Mecklenburg.

From this state of things, Cornwallis could easily have carried out his avowed purpose of again defeating Gates, and entering Virginia with the most numerous army that had been on the Continent, by calling in some of his needless outposts, and these numerous squads of petty-larceny plunderers, who were raised from poverty to affluence in a few day's plundering, and having still the expectation of further advancement by getting the Whig plantations. If

he had succeeded the patriotic State of Virginia would have had to contend with him and his army almost single handed, for it could have received little aid from the conquered States, and but little from Washington, or the Northern States, as they had their hands full with Clinton and his New York Tories. This was the most disastrous period for Liberty and Independence from the time of its Declaration to the end of the war. Liberty and Independence were then shrouded in Egyptian darkness. Furgurson's defeat was the turning point in American affairs. The battle, extraordinary as it was, was not more extraordinary than its effects were.

Cornwallis on hearing that Furgurson was defeated immediately dropped the notion of defeating Gates and entering Virginia with a numerous army, being already galled by the Mecklenburg hornets, was panic-struck to think that he would, alas! have, at the same time, to encounter the gaffs and spurs of the blue hen's chickens as soon as he could filch a few days' provisions from under the wings of the Hornets, took night's leave of the Hornets' nest, lest he should disturb the wasps, made a precipitate retrograde march, stopping neither night nor day until he joined Leslie at Winnsborough.

Instantly after Fergurson's defeat, McGirt, Cunningham and Brown quit their robbing, murdering, burning and destroying, and played the game of "the least in sight," and "shut mouth" into the bargain. Lumpkin, Moore and company fled to Nocachey; the petty larceny squads of Torys began to seek their hiding places and holes, like rats and mice when the cat would make her appearance. When Generals Green and Morgan came from the North with all the force that could be spared from that quarter, with the fragments of Gates' defeated army—the brave and cautious General Morgan found that he was unable to fight Tarleton, fled before him, until Williams troops, being chiefly South Carolina and Georgia refugees, who

fought under Williams at Fergursons' defeat, and the other troops who lived on the east side of the mountains, who fought at the same place—heard of Morgan's retreating before Tarleton, and rushed to his assistance. Being thus reinforced, General Morgan turned about, and defeated Tarleton at the Cowpens; General Green had to retreat before Lord Conwallis until reinforced by the Mecklenburg Hornets, composed of volunteers from Rowan, Lincoln and Mecklenburg counties. Green turned upon Cornwallis, and at Guilford made an equal fight—neither having the victory. How would it have been with Generals Green and Morgan if Fergurson had not been defeated? Tarleton's force would have been greatly increased, and Cornwallis' army would have been more than double the number that appeared on the field of battle at Guilford. All then that Morgan and Greene could have done would have been to retreat and keep out of their way, and permit Cornwallis, agreeably to his avowed intention, to have entered Virginia with the most numerous army that had been in the field since the commencement of the war. Virginia would then have had to contend single-handed with that formidable force, with the assistance of General Greene.

In short, Fergurson's defeat was the turning point in American affairs. The loss of this battle would, in all probability, have been the loss of American Independence and the Liberty we now enjoy. I never on any occasion feel such dignified pride as when I think that my name counts one of the number that faced the hill at King's Mountain the day of that battle. Others may think and speak disrespectfully of that transaction who are in favor of monarchy and individual oppression; but that is not Joseph McDowell, nor you, my friend Bob.

I have written down my narrative, and General McDowell's reply to Musentine Matthews, which he delivered to the boys at the head of the Round-About on the Stone

Mountain, as nearly as memory would serve. Thinking that reading it might fill up a blank in your leisure hours, reflecting on the situation of the times to which the recited facts refer. Your friend, D. VANCE.

I will now relate a few facts relative to the battle at King's Mountain that came within my own view, and not related by Colonel Vance. In Vance's narrative, he refers to Colonel W. Graham's and David Dickey's leaving the army to visit his wife, and Major Billy Chronicle taking his place, and calling on his South Fork boys to follow him. At that time Enoch Gilmer called on Hugh Ewin, Adam Barry and myself to follow him close to the foot of the hill. We marched with a quick step, letting Major Chronicle advance about ten steps before us, but further from the hill than we were, until we met the wing from the other side of the hill. Then, Chronicle having a mili tary hat, but had let it down to shelter the rain from him, and had it not set up, clapped his hand to it in front, and raised it up, and cried, "Face to the hill." The words were scarcely uttered, when a ball struck him and he dropped; and in a second after a ball struck William Robb, about six feet from Chronicle, and he dropped. We then advanced up the hill close to the Tory lines. There was a log across a hollow that I took my stand by, and stepping one step back, I was safe from the British fire. I there remained firing until the British charged bayonet. When they made the charge they first fired their guns, at which fire it is supposed they killed Captain Mattocks and J. Boyd; wounded William Gilmer and John Chittim. The Fork boys fired and did considerable execution. I was preparing to fire when one of the British advancing, I stepped [back] and was in the act of cocking my gun, when his bayonet was running along the barrel of my gun, and gave me a thrust through my hand and into my thigh; my antagonist and myself both fell. The Fork boys retreated and loaded their guns. I was then lying under the smoke,

and it appeared that some of them were not more than gun's length in front of the bayonets, and the farthest could not have been more than twenty feet in front when they discharged their rifles. It was said that every one dropped his man. The British then retreated in great haste, and were pursued by the Fork boys.

William Caldwell saw my condition, and pulled the bayonet out of my thigh, but it hung to my hand; he gave my hand a kick, and went on. The thrust gave me much pain, but the pulling of it [out] was much more severe. With my well hand I picked up my gun, and found her discharged. I suppose that when the soldier made the thrust I gripped the trigger and discharged her—the load must have passed through his bladder and cut a main artery of his back, as he bled profusely.

Immediately after William Caldwell drew the bayonet from me, then the word was that the flag was up—the Whigs then shouted "Hurrah for Liberty," three times at the top of their voices. It was immediately announced that Fergurson was killed. I had a desire to see him, and went and found him dead; he was shot in the face, and in the breast. It was said he had received other wounds. Samuel Talbot turned him over, and got his pocket pistol.

Being in much pain and drouthy, went down, left my gun, being unable to carry her, and when I got near to the branch met David Dickey and Colonel William Graham riding his large black horse, wielding his sword round his head, crying at the top of his voice, "Damn the Tories," and ascended the hill. Having seen him get leave of absence at the commencement of the battle to see his wife, I was filled with excitement and a conflict of passions and extreme pain; but this brought on another set of feelings, that may be understood, but I am not possessed of language to describe.

I then went into the branch, drank, bathed my thigh and hand—then went to see whether Major Chronicle and

William Robb were dead or wounded—found them dead. I saw some of the boys hauling Captain Mattocks and John Boyd down the hill; and Samuel Martin carrying William Gilmer, who was wounded in the thigh.

Several of the South Fork boys were desirous to start for home that night, and were desirous to know how many were killed on each side. Joseph Beatty and Enoch Gilmer were appointed for that purpose of counting. They reported that 248 British and Tories were killed, and that 143 Whigs were killed. They gave no account of the wounded.

In the meantime Hugh Ewin, Andrew Barry and Nathaniel Cook brought their horses and mine; put me on my horse, but could not take my gun. We rode over the battle-grounds; saw in some places the dead lay thick, and other places thin. We went about five miles from the battle-ground, and staid for the night. My wounds pained me extremely. Sunday morning we started for home. When we came to the South Fork, the waters were high, and my Company would not suffer me to ride the river, but took me across in a canoe, and hauled me home in a slide.

I continued in extreme pain, when my mother made a poultice of wet ashes, and applied it to my wounds. This gave me the first ease. On Monday morning by sunrise Hugh Ewin and Andrew Barry came to see me, and immediately after came several Neutralists, as they called themselves, but were really Tories, to hear the news about the battle, when the following dialogue took place between Ewin and Barry on one part, and the Tories on the other:

Tory. Is it certain that Colonel Fergurson is killed, and his army defeated and taken prisoners?

E. and B. It is certain, for we saw Fergurson after he was dead, and his army prisoners.

Tory. How many men had Colonel Fergurson?

E. and B. Nearly 1,200, but not quite 1,200.

Tory. Where did they get men enough to defeat him?

E. and B. They had the South Carolina and Georgia Refugees, Colonel Graham's men, some from Virginia, some from the head of the Yadkin, some from the head of the Catawba, some from over the mountains, and some from everywhere else.

Tory. Tell us how it happened, and all about it.

E. and B. We met at Gilbert Town, and found that the foot troops could not overtake Fergurson, and we took between six and seven hundred horsemen, leaving as many or more footmen to follow; and we overtook Fergurson at King's Mountain, where we surrounded and defeated him.

Tory. Ah! That won't do. Between six and seven hundred to surround nearly 1,200. It would take more than 2,000 to surround and take Colonel Fergurson.

E. and B. But we were all of us blue hen's chickens.

Tory. There must have been of your foot and horse in all over 4,000. We see what you are about, that is to catch Lord Cornwallis napping.

Thus ended the dialogue, not more than two hours after sunrise on Monday; and the Neutralists or Tories immediately departed. It was reported that they immediately swam a horse across the Catawba river by the side of a canoe (the Catawba was much higher than the South Fork), and gave Lord Cornwallis the news of Fergurson's defeat.

Before my wounds were well, I went to Charlotte, and after Cornwallis had left it, where I met a David Knox, a brother or near relative of James Knox, the grandfather of President Polk, who gave me the following information, to-wit: That on Monday next after Fergurson's defeat, he, Knox, being a prisoner in the street in Charlotte, that an officer came to the officer of the guard, and the following dialogue took place:

The first officer said to the officer of the guard, Did you hear the news?

Officer of Guard. No, what news?

First Officer. Colonel Fergurson is killed, and his whole army defeated and taken prisoners.

Officer of Guard. How can that be—where did the men come from to do that?

First Officer. Some of them were South Carolina and Georgia Refugees, some from Virginia, some from the head of the Yadkin, some from the head of Catawba, some from over the mountains, and some from everywhere else. They met at Gilbert Town, about 2,000 desperadoes on horseback, calling themselves blue hen's chickens, started in pursuit of Fergurson, leaving as many footmen to follow. They overtook Colonel Fergurson at a place called King's Mountain; there they killed Colonel Fergurson, after surrounding his army, defeated them and took them prisoners.

Officer of Guard. Can this be true?

First Officer. As true as the gospel, and we may look out for breakers.

Officer of Guard. God bless us!

Whereupon David Knox jumped on a pile of fire-wood in the street, slapped his hands and thighs, and crowed like a cock, exclaiming, "*Day is at hand!*" Hence he was called *Peter's Cock*—having some analogy to the crowing of the cock when Peter denied his Lord the third time.

It was generally considered about Charlotte and elsewhere, that this exaggerated account, given by the Neutralists, of Colonel Campbell's army, foot and horse, at 4,000, which carried a strong air of plausibility with it, was the reason why Lord Cornwallis immediately left Charlotte in the night, after the waters were passible, and did not stop day nor night until he met General Leslie at or near Winnsborough.

NOTE.—Carefully transcribed from the original manuscript in Robert Henry's handwriting, sent me by mail for the purpose by Dr. J. F. E. Hardy, of Asheville, N. C., January 26th, 27th, 28th and early the 29th, 1874.—*L. C. Draper.*

This copy is taken from the Draper MS., as may be seen from the above, sent me by Judge D. Schenck, of Greensboro, N. C., for that purpose, copied January 31st, February 1st, 2d and 4th, 1898, by Jas. T. Henry, a grandson of Robert Henry, at "Trinity Park."

WILLIAM W. HOLDEN.

BY W. K. BOYD.

PART III.—RECONSTRUCTION TO CANBY CONSTITUTION.

The series of events that followed the surrender of the Confederate army are so closely interwoven with the legal and constitutional development of the Nation as well as with that of the South, that a concise and adequate view of the period embracing the years 1865 to 1870 is the most tantalizing task that a student of American institutions might undertake. In this discussion no claim is made to present a final estimate of Reconstruction, State or National. Only those facts will be discussed that are more or less reflected in the life of Mr. Holden, facts that demand the consideration of every dispassionate enquirer into North Carolina's contribution to the progress of the Nation. But in the beginning may the reader pardon one criticism upon the popular conception of the period about to be discussed? Nearly every one who has spoken or written of these years of trial has portrayed them in the very darkest colors, attributed to them not a few evils of the present, imaginary and otherwise. The sins of "carpet-baggers," "scallawags" and "radical misrule" and the offenses of the ignorant freedmen are unfortunately still the themes of as bitter partisanship as ever graced the campaign of 1876. Shall we ever be free from "the weariness, the fever, and the fret" of the dark days of Reconstruction?

The mistake has been and yet is, that the problem of Reconstruction was not so much one of social equality of the Caucasian with an inferior race, but the paramount issues were constitutional. While legislators were devoting time and talent to the legal and constitutional reconstruction of the Union, the attention of the multitude was turned to the status of the emancipated slave. In many instances strife and crime were precipitated by the unprin-

cipled office-seeker or the well meaning but ignorant descendants of abolition. At least an insane disdain and hatred for everything black "from Touissaint to the Devil" culminated in the Ku Klux outrages. These secret clans organized for mutual protection from criminals in localities where the civil authority was too weak to be effective, finally developed into a political organization for the suppression of the new suffragers. It was forgotten that questions of "social equality," questions which deal with humanity in the concrete, "make problem not for head but heart." Consequently the restoration of the Southern States to their sovereignty was delayed. Before a relation of events in North Carolina during this period, some consideration must be given to the attitude of the law makers of the Nation toward the States that were to be re-admitted to the Union.

The problems connected with the restoration of the Union to its former dimensions were the most serious that ever claimed the attention of Congress. It is no wonder then that those entrusted to the task should hold conflicting opinions as to the work in hand. Briefly stated, two theories demanded the attention of Congress. One may be called the "restoration" theory, its genesis was in the mind of Lincoln—the other, that of "reconstruction," a conception of existing conditions held exclusively by the President's opponents. So the issue of the time, from a standpoint of legislation, was one of administration and executive supremacy, Congress or the President? The central point in the struggle was the status of the seceding States, and the history of Reconstruction may be said to begin with Lincoln's inaugural. All eyes were directed to the President-elect and his position regarding the affected States. The only expression on the question of the hour in his address was as follows:*

*For facts concerning Congressional Debates, the author is indebted to S. S. Cox's "Three Decades of Federal Legislation," and E. G. White's "Reconstruction During the Civil War."

"It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere notion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectory or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the union is unbroken."

The President's notion was then, that a seceding State was yet in the Union. "Once in the Union, always in." But the Union's attitude in case of rebellion was not stated.

At first Lincoln was given entire support in his conduct toward the South and also in his views as to a State's relation to the Union. But harmony did not long remain. The first evidence of division of opinion was on July 22, 1861, when Representative Crittenden introduced the following resolution:

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the dis-unionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional government and in arms around the capitol; that in the National emergency, congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the constitution, and to preserve the Union with all its dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpared; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

This resolution passed with only two dissenting votes. A few days later Andrew Johnson introduced a similar resolution in the Senate. It was adopted. But on December 4, less than five months later, the resolution was again offered in the House and was tabled, the vote standing seventy-one ayes and sixty-five nays. At the same time Charles Sumner introduced in the Senate a resolution declaring that:

"Any vote of Secession or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory, is inoperative and void against the Constitution and when maintained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the State of all rights under the Constitution while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the contin-

ued existence of the State as a body politic. So that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State being, according to the language of the law, *felo-da se*, ceases to exist."

Although no action was taken upon this resolution, it foreshadows the future policy of Congress, executed with martial force. The lines were being drawn. Congress was falling into a mood foreshadowed by Thaddeus Stevens when he said:

"Mr. Speaker, I thought the time had come when the laws of war were to govern our action; when constitutions, if they stood in the way of the laws of war in dealing with the enemy, had no right to interfere." (Aug. 2, 1861.)

It is impossible here to trace the growth of that spirit that caused Congress to ignore the indestructibility of the State. It was due to the unusual authorities exercised by Congress during the war, the numerous appropriations and confiscation bills, the border State issues, and the thousand and one questions involved in military operations. Perhaps one of the most important of these influences was the emancipation of slaves, an act that transcended many constitutional technicalities. In January, 1863, Thaddeus Stevens in prophetic words portrayed the future policy of Congress:

"I desire to say,' he said, 'that I know perfectly well . . . I do not speak the sentiments of this side of the House as a party. I know more than that; that for the last fifteen years I have always been a step ahead of the party I have acted with in these matters; but I have never been so far ahead, with the exception of the principles I now enunciate, but that the members of the party have overtaken me and gone ahead; and they will again overtake me, and go with me, before this infamous and bloody revolution is ended. They will find that they cannot execute the Constitution in the seceding States, that it is a total nullity there, and that this war must be carried on upon principles wholly independent of it. They will come to the conclusion that the adoption of the measures I advocated at the outset of the war, the arming of the negros, the slaves of the rebels, is the only way left on earth in which these rebels can be exterminated. They will find that they must treat those States now outside of the Union as conquered provinces and settle them with new men, and drive the present rebels as exiles from this country; for I tell you they have the pluck

and enduance for which I gave them credit a year and a half ago, in this side of the House, nor by the people in the free States. They have such determination, energy and endurance that nothing but actual extermination or exile or starvation will ever induce them to surrender to this government. I do not now ask gentlemen to endorse my views, nor do I speak for anybody but myself; but in order that I may have some credit for sagacity, I ask that gentlemen will write this down in their memories. It will not be two years before they call it up, or before they will adopt my views, or adopt the other alternative of a disgraceful submission by this side of the country."

Another doctrine of the supporters of the Congressional policy was the centralization of authority in Congress. In a debate on the confiscation of rebel property, Mr. Morril of Maine noted that the Nation was in general hostility and that it had the power of defense. He then enquired in what particular department of the government this authority was vested. The answer, he declared, to be in Congress itself.

"In the contingency of actual hostilities the nation assumes a new and extraordinary character, involving new relations and conferring new rights, imposing extraordinary obligations on the citizens, and subjecting them to extraordinary penalties. There is then, no limit on the power of Congress; but it is invested with the absolute powers of war—the civil functions of the government are, for the time being, in abeyance when in conflict, and all state and national authority subordinated to the extreme authority of Congress, as the supreme power, in the peril of external or internal hostilities. The ordinary provisions of the Constitution peculiar to a State of peace, and all laws and municipal regulations, must yield to the force of moral law, as resolved by Congress."

This utterance was revolutionary for it demanded a path of action over a prostrate constitution but that had already been taken by the seceding States.

All the combined hosts of the opposition, however, could not prevail on the President, whose views were safely entrenched behind his wonderful personality. His message of December 8, 1863, contained the first formulated plan for reconstruction. The policy of this message provided for a general amnesty except in the following cases —all who deserted judicial positions or seats in Congress or posts in the army and navy to join the Confederacy—

also all officers in the Confederate army above the rank of colonel or lieutenant in the navy and all of any grade who maltreated colored or white prisoners. With this introduction, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to set forth his plan of restoration.

"Whenever, in any of the eleven States in rebellion, a number of persons not less than one-tenth of the number of votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid (the amnesty oath), and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State government, which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against violence'"

In the House that part of the message dealing with the the duty of the United States to guarantee a republican government to those States where the constitution was overthrown, was referred to a committee. Its report was adopted by a majority of eight, another evidence of the conflicting opinions on reconstruction in the House. The outline of the bill was as follows, as related by Cox, "Three Decades of Federal Legislation," p. 339:

"The President was authorized to appoint a provisional Governor for each of the States declared in rebellion, with the pay and emoluments of a Brigadier-General. He was to be charged with the civil administration until a State government should be recognized. The Governors were to direct the United States Marshals to enroll all the white male citizens of the United States resident within the respective States as soon as the insurrection should be suppressed, and whenever a majority of them should take the oath of allegiance. The loyal people thus to be ascertained were authorized to elect delegates to conventions for the purpose of re-establishing the State governments. Qualified voters in the United States Army were allowed to vote in camps. No person who had held or exercised any civil or military office (except offices ministerial, and military offices below the grade of Colonel), State or Confederate, created by the usurping power, was to be recognized or paid by the State. The constitutions framed by

the conventions of the several States were to be ratified by the people and reported to the President, who would lay them before Congress; and upon their approval by that body, the President would make proclamation recognizing the governments so established, and none others; whereupon the people might proceed to the election of members of Congress, and exercise all other functions of co-equal States. In the mean time the Governor would enforce the laws of the Union and of the particular State, as they existed before the rebellion, except as regards slavery."

In the Senate the bill was passed with two amendments, one fixing the salary of provisional Governor at $3,000 per annum, the other striking out the word "white" where it occurred in defining the qualifications of voters and office-holders. Mr. Brown offered a substitute depriving the people of the rebellious States of the right to elect Senators and representatives to Congress and Presidential electors until the rebellion should be suppressed and the return of the States be recognized by the President. This was accepted and the bill passed its final reading. There was some hitch when the measure reached the House, but it finally passed both House and Senate. In the main it conformed with Mr. Lincoln's plans. But he rejected it because its provisions would have necessitated the overthrow of the inchoate State governments established according to Presidential plans and proclamations in Arkansas and Louisiana. This action of President Lincoln was seriously considered. Senators Davis and Wade charged him with perpetrating:

"A studied outrage upon the legislative authority of the people."

Also:

"If electors for President be allowed to be chosen in either of those States, a sinster light will be cast on the motives which induced the President to hold for naught the will of Congress, rather than his government in Louisiana and Arkansas."

On January 30, 1865, a resolution passed both the House and Senate and received the signature of the President which refused to accept any electoral votes from the States in insurrection. Applications were made for the admis-

sion of Senators from Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas, but they were continued until the next session.

Just four days before his assassination, Mr. Lincoln made the following statement concerning Reconstruction —among the very last words addressed to the public by him. Throughout his career he had foreborne to make any statement of his views on the status of the seceding States—the very question that was the key to all the debates in Congress on Union attitude toward the Confederacy.

"As appears to me,' he said, 'that question has not been, nor yet is, a practically material one, and any discussion of it, while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may hereafter become, that question is bad, as the basis of a controversy, and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. We all agree that that the seceded States, so-called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them in that proper political relation. I believe it is not only possible, but in fact, easier to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad."

The death of President Lincoln was of the most serious import to the peaceful restoration of the seceded States. His attitude toward the subject States was most friendly as well as most watchful. Foreseeing the difficulties that should follow the admission of an ignorant people to full citizenship, he suggested in his amnesty proclamation that the Southern States be allowed to institute a guardianship for the negro. Thaddeus Stevens proposed that the South be held under military rule for ten years until the negro might be educated to take an equal civil position with the white. To Lincoln's death may be attributed the frauds of the Freedman's Bureau and many other evils that marked the administration of far inferior successors.

Andrew Johnson, Mr. Lincoln's successor, though a native Southerner, pursued a far less liberal policy toward the South. Though he in the main followed the outlines

of his predecessor's policy and opposed the radical views of Congress, his amnesty conditions were more stringent than those of Lincoln. In addition to the classes excepted in Lincoln's proclamation, Johnson excluded the following:

"All officers who had resigned or tendered resignations of their commissions in the army or navy of the United States, to evade duty in resisting rebellion. All persons who had been or were then, absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. All military or naval officers in the rebel service who were educated by the Government in the military academy at West Point, or the United States Military Academy. All persons who had the pretended offices of governors of States in insurrection against the United States. All persons who had left their homes within the jurisdiction and protection of the United States, and passed beyond the Federal military lines into the pretended Confederate States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion. All persons who had been engaged in the destruction of the commerce of the United States upon the high seas. All persons who had made raids into the United States from Canada, or been engaged in destroying the commerce of the United States upon the lakes and rivers that separate the British provinces from the United States. All persons who at the time might seek to obtain the benefits of the amnesty by taking the oath presented in the proclamation and were in military, naval, or civil confinement or custody, or under bonds of the civil, military or naval authorities or agents of the United States, or prisoners of war, or who were detained for offences of any kind, either before or after conviction. All persons who had voluntarily participated in the rebellion and the estimated value of whose taxable property was over twenty thousand dollars—and all persons who had taken the oath of amnasty as presented in the President's proclamation of December 8, 1863, or an oath of allegiance to the government of the United States since the date of that proclamation, and who did not keep and maintain the same inviolate." (Cox's "Three Deacons," p. 347.)

On May 29, 1865, the day of the Amnesty proclamation, President Johnson also stated his policy of reconstruction in another proclamation, a document closely related to the history of North Carolina, Mr. Johnson's native State. The constitutional grounds for his action are thus told:

"The fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government—and shall protect each of them against invasion and domestic violence; and, whereas, the President of the United States is by the Constitution made Commander-in-Chief of the army

and navy, as well as chief civil executive officer of the United States, and is bound by solemn oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States, and to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and, whereas, the rebellion which has been waged by a portion of the people of the United States against the properly constituted authorities of the government thereof in the most violent and revolting form, but whose organized and armed forces have now been almost entirely overcome, has in its revolutionary progress deprived the people of North Carolina of civil government; and, whereas, it becomes necessary and proper to carry out and enforce the obligations of the United States to the people of North Carolina, in securing them in the enjoyment of a republican form of government; now, therefore, I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, do hereby appoint William W. Holden Provisional Governor of the State of North Carolina."

According to directions, Mr. Holden was to call a State convention at the earliest time practicable. The purpose of the convention was to amend and alter the State Constitution. No persons were eligible who might be included in the fourteen excepted classes of the Amnesty proclamation, and all voters must first take the oath of allegiance. Special applications for pardon by those under ban might be made through Mr. Holden. This was the first of a series of similar proclamations and appointments, and it may be said to end the first chapter in Reconstruction from the national point of view.

Let us now turn to events in North Carolina and study them as they relate to Mr. Holden's life.

In May, 1865, he tells us in his unpublished memoirs, he was summoned to Washington by President Johnson, who requested him to bring with him such other gentlemen as he might choose. Mr. Holden invited William S. Mason, R. P. Dick, John G. Williams, J. P. H. Russ and W. R. Richardson. These gentlemen, with the exception of Mr. Dick, who lived in Greensboro, resided in Raleigh. Others, representing different sections of the State, Mr. Holden would have summoned, but time would not permit, as his orders were imperative. Governors Swain and Vance, B. F. Moore and William Eaton were already in

Washington. When Mr. Holden arrived, President Johnson asked him to furnish names for appointment to offices in North Carolina. Mr. Holden's nominations were as follows: District Judge, Mr. Dick; District Attorney, Wm. L. Mason; Marshall, W. R. Richardson, and J. P. H. Russ, Postmaster of Raleigh. Dr. Robert Powell was appointed State Agent to represent North Carolina in Washington. Holden asked Mr. Powell what he thouhgt would be done with the Confederate Governors. Mr. Powell replied that they would all be hanged. Holden answered that if that course were pursued, reconstruction would be impossible, that Vance had the same relation to North Carolina that Davis sustained to the entire South. In the mean time Governor Vance was a prisoner in Washington. Holden did not visit him in person, on account of their relations during the days of the Peace movement, but privately offered him his services. In July, when Holden had returned to the State, he received news of Mrs. Vance's serious illness. He at once telegraphed to Washington, asking that Governor Vance be released. In a few hours he received an answer, that Governor Vance was on his way home on parole.

In regard to the treatment of the more wealthy Southern planters, President Johnson told Holden that he expected to confiscate the estates of the large slave-holders who were traitors, and would divide the proceeds among the "wool hat boys" of the South, who fought for slavery against their will. Holden and Dick remonstrated. President Johnson acquiesced, but said: "Gentlemen, treason must be made odious, and coming generations ought to know it and profit by it."

At the request of President Johnson, all the North Carolina men in the city met him at an appointed time. During the meeting Governor Swain took Holden outside and asked him not to accept the Provisional Governorship. Holden thought that Governor Swain had apprehensions

for the University of which he was the President. Holden assured him that he was friendly to the institution, and need have no fears for its safety if he (Holden) received the appointment. "We had walked from the White House to a point overlooking the statue of General Jackson," says Mr. Holden, "and when we returned, as we did very slowly, to the ambassadors, where the President and his friends were, it was announced that I had been appointed Provisional Governor." This account of Mr. Holden's is important, for it discredits the popular opinion that North Carolina was not consulted in the appointment of Holden as Provisional Governor.

Having returned to North Carolina, the Provisional Governor at once entered upon the duties of his office. His duties were burdensome, for to him had been entrusted the work of reorganizing civil government, and all officers, from county sheriffs and constables to the highest State officials, were subject to his appointment. Robert W. Best was appointed Secretary of State; Jonathan Worth, Treasurer, and David H. Barnes, Edward J. Warren, Daniel G. Fowle, Ralph P. Buxton, Robert B. Gilliam, Edwin G. Read and Anderson Mitchell, Supreme Court Judges, and Sion H. Rogers, Attorney-General. Many of those who accepted offices and positions of trust from Mr. Holden, were later his political opponents and enemies.

Governor Holden has been for years accused of trying to place the negro on a plane of "social equality" with the white man. But an examination of his Inaugural Address fails to justify the charge. That part addressed to the negro was full of good council, but not a word could have the remotest kinship to "social equality."

"To the colored people of the State I would say, you are now free. It now remains for you, aided as you will be by the superior intelligence of the white people and cheered by the sympathies of all good people, to decide whether the freedom thus suddenly bestowed upon you will be a blessing to you or a source of injury. Your race has been depressed by

your condition of slavery and by the legislation of your former masters for two hundred years. It is not to be expected that you can soon comprehend and appreciate as they should be comprehended and appreciated by a self-governing people, the wise provisions and limitations of the constitution and laws . But you are free, in common with all our people, and you have the same right, regulated by law, that others have, to enter upon the pursuit of prosperity and happiness. You should henceforth sacredly observe the marriage relation and you should provide for your offspring. . . . But to be prosperous and happy you must labor, not merely when you feel like it or for a scanty support, but industriously and steadily, with a view to making and laying up something for your families . . . The same Providence that has bestowed freedom upon you, has told you that diligence in business is required of all His creatures, and you cannot expect that your race will escape ultimate extinction if you wilfully violate or disregard this, one of His great commandments . I will see to it as far as I can, that you have your liberty; that you are protected in your property and persons; and that you are paid your wages, but on the other hand, I will set my face against those of you who are idle and dissipated, and prompt punishment will be inflicted for any breach of the peace or violation of the law . It is my duty, as far as I can, to render the government 'a terror to evil doers and a praise to those that do well.' And this I will endeavor to do in relation to the whole people of the State of North Carolina, 'without fear, favor or affection, reward or the hope of reward.'"

One of the most delicate duties of Governor Holden was the endorsement of pardons. It was provided that those who were excluded from citizenship by the Amnesty proclamation might secure pardon. Applications must be made through the Provisional Governors of the States. Holden had won the enmity of all the old line Democrats by his action with the Peace party. Now many of these, as well as the survivors of the Whigs, were compelled to apply to him before their disabilities could be removed. It is not my intention to make the basis of this paper the unfortunate personal animosities that were so bitter during this period. But a few accounts of the issue of pardons from Governor Holden's private memoirs are valuable, if not necessary, for they are a sidelight on the political feelings of the time.

"I received every day a large number of applications for pardons, which I read carefully. I was the medium through

which these applications went to the President, and my duty was to mark them granted, postponed or rejected, not that I did that, but they were thus marked for the President. It was for him to grant them, postpone or reject them. During my term of seven months about twelve hundred pardons were thus obtained from the President. I asked him during all of this time to reject only four. Some were postponed, and some were granted.

"About the middle of my term, in August, ex-Governor Graham came to Raleigh. I was sick at the time and confined to my house, and did not see him. He filed in my office his application for pardon, addressed to the President. When I got back to my office I read his application carefully, and was pleased with it. It was an able and truthful paper. I raised up from my place in the office and approached Maj. Bagley, who was pardon clerk, and asked him to endorse ex-Governor Graham's paper, his pardon to be granted by the President at once. Colonel Cannon, one of my aides, who was standing by, said to me, "Governor, have you seen the New York *Herald* of this morning?" I said "No, what of it?" He said, "The *Herald* says that Governor Graham has been pardoned already, and you are engaged in pardoning a great many unpardoned rebels. I would advise you to send on the paper and mark it 'continued,' and in a few weeks see the President and ask him to send the pardon." Col. Cannon and Maj. Bagley were both old line Whigs, or had been, and both devoted friends to Governor Graham, as I was. I took his advice and continued his case. They advised me to pursue this course and not grant the pardon immediately, lest the Radicals North should complain and lose confidence in the President.

"In the course of a week or so, being still feeble on account of my hard labor, I went to Kedrick Springs and there saw Mr. Don Webb. In the course of a conversation with him, I said, "I hope ex-Governor Graham will soon have

his pardon, and that he can enter public life and be of great service to us." On my return to Raleigh, I found that he had written a communication in the Hillsboro *Recorder* assailing the constitutionality of Congress. The communication referred to was published in the Hillsboro *Recorder* and Raleigh *Sentinel*, and of course, excited attention. We were then under military rule and it was not therefore proper that an unpardoned person asking for pardon should write in that way over his own name.

"Meanwhile, the Hon. Josiah Turner called on me at my office and had a long and warm conversation with me in regard to his pardon and that of ex-Governor Graham. I told Mr. Turner I could not tell him what endorsement I had made on his application, or that of Governor Graham. They were both leading public men, and it was not my habit to give information of that kind, but would tell him of one case of a private citizen and of what I had done. I said. "The summer you wrote your father's application for a pardon he owned a large amount of lands. He was no doubt apprehensive that it might be confiscated. You made him say that if he had been a young man he would have shouldered his musket and fought for the South. I feared that this expression might move the President to refuse his pardon, whereupon I wrote a note of it that your father was an old man and had been a Henry Clay Whig, and that the President might overlook the expression and send the pardon. I received the pardon by return mail and sent it to your father at Hillsboro. I found it impossible to satisfy Mr. Turner, and he left my office evidently unsatisfied. About this time Mr. Turner made a speech in Raleigh. I did not hear him. The speech was said to be against me and my policy of Reconstruction. Under all these circumstances it was not to be reasonably expected that I would at that time write to the President to forward either of these pardons. I had the greatest respect for Governor Graham and did not intend

to be in the way of his pardon. If he could have come to Raleigh and the whole matter explained between us, I would no doubt have written to the President and obtained his pardon.

"An old and esteemed friend of mine, now dead, Council Wooten, of Lenoir county, called on me several times for his pardon. I put him off, but having heard at last from his friends and neighbors in relation to his application and merits, I obtained his pardon. I will make this statement also in relation to Governor Bragg. I had marked his application to be continued as Governor Graham's was marked. The package containing a number of pardons was received in my office by express, and Colonel Cannon opened it and much to his surprise found Governor Bragg's pardon. He said, "You marked this application to be continued." I said, "I did." He then removed it and put it in my drawer in my room. In a few days Governor Bragg called for his pardon. The clerks in the office of the Private Secretary said it was not there. In a few days Dr. Powell, State Agent, who handed these pardons, came to Raleigh and asked for Governor Bragg's pardon. I told him the facts. He told me that the President told him the pardon had been received and I might just as well give it to Governor Bragg. Dr. Powell then said he did not know that it was Governor Bragg's, but thought it was plain Thomas Bragg. I told him I was not disposed to treat Governor Bragg unkindly, but he had not been to see me since I was Governor, but if he would call on me as I returned from the office, I would hand him his pardon myself. Governor Bragg called in that day, 29th December, 1865, and I handed him his pardon.*

"One day toward the close of my term, Col. Tod R. Caldwell, who had lately been to Hillsboro, said to me that Mr. P. C. Cameron was much concerned about his

*NOTE.—Governors Bragg and Graham were two of the prosecutors in Governor Holden's impeachment.

application for a pardon. I told Col. Caldwell that the President was not disposed to favor applications for conspicuous persons who had been engaged in the rebellion. I could not therefore recommend Mr. Cameron's pardon just then. He said that Mr. Cameron was in town and out in the passage in the Capitol. He said that he was in attendance at the Episcopal Conference. I asked him to request Mr. Cameron to come in. He did so, and I received him very politely indeed. I told him what I had just said to Col. Caldwell, and furthermore I had no apprehension of the confiscation of the property. This did not seem to satisfy him, and I at last said, "Mr. Cameron, I will obtain your pardon from the President." He seemed very glad at what I had said, and said to me, "Governor, please bear in mind that my father-in-law, Judge Ruffin wishes to know before he dies, how much he is worth. I replied, "Mr. Cameron, I am glad you have mentioned Judge Ruffin. He and Governor Morehead stood in the Peace Congress like rocks in the Union. I will see your application to-day," and at the same time asked the President to send pardon to Judge Ruffin and Governor Morehead. I have no doubt that the pardons of Judge Ruffin, Governor Morehead and Colonel Cameron were all granted and sent. It affords me pleasure to be the humble servant through which they were obtained. There were two persons possessed of large means, who obtained their pardons from the President directly, when I had not consented to it, and the President, when informed of the fact, telegraphed me advising me to tax each one of these persons for thus obtaining their pardons, $10,000 each by way of punishment, which, of course, I declined to do. . . .

"I was robust and in good health when I entered on my duties, but at the end of them I was thin and shallow and and weak, so intensely had I labored as I thought for North Carolina."

For his expenses and services Governor Holden received

seven thousand dollars. This was carefully and economically expended, many minor contingencies of the executive office being paid for out of the Governor's private purse. He also induced President Johnson to turn over to the State the remains of its war property, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This was done for no other State. President Johnson was also influenced to suspend the Federal land tax in Guilford county. When Governor Holden retired, there was a surplus of forty thousand dollars in the State Treasury.

In the mean time, a State convention had been called by Governor Holden. It met in Raleigh, October 2, 1865. The ordnance of secession was repealed, slavery prohibited and its acts were ratified by a popular vote. In the plans of President Johnson, the State was now ready to govern itself. An election was ordered. The candidates for Governor were Holden and Worth, the State Treasurer. Neither took an active part in the campaign. Mr. Worth was elected by a large majority. This was regarded as a reaction against the Union and President Johnson sent the following letter to Governor Holden:

Hon. W. W. Holden, Provisional Governor:

Accept my thanks for the valuable and efficient manner in which you have discharged your duty as Provisional Governor. You will be sustained by the Government.

The results of the recent election in North Carolina have greatly damaged the prospects of the State in the restoration of its governmental relations. Should the action and spirit of the Legislature be in the same direction, it will greatly increase the mischief already done and might be fatal.

It is hoped the action and spirit manifested by the Legislature will be so directed, as rather to repair than increase the difficulties under which the State has already placed itself.

ANDREW JOHNSON,
President United States.

PART IV.—RECONSTRUCTION TO CANBY CONSTITUTION.

The omens of peril in President Johnson's letter were prophetic and soon to be fulfilled. The defeat of the Union candidates in North Carolina and other Southern States was sufficient to give a hostile tendency to the relations of Congress to the States to be restored to the Union. This tendency was precipitated into a fixed policy by the actions of the Southern Legislatures. In certain States laws were passed that classed as vagrants all negroes who refused to work for prescribed wages. Many minor offences were to be punished by fine, and if the fine were not paid, the offending negro was worked out by process of law. An apprentice system was in some States adopted which considered the negro bound to service until a certain age. Some such laws seemed necessary to the Southern law-makers to regulate the liberated slave. But when complaints were filed at Washington, Congress was alarmed and regarded these laws as wilful and direct violations of the freedom of the negro.

The first step in retaliation was the refusal to admit Southern Congressmen until Congress should declare them entitled to represent their States. Then the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, which declared all "persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," citizens of the United States and of the States where they resided. In other words, the negro was granted the right to vote and placed on an equal civil basis with the white race. The Amendment also excluded prominent Confederates from Federal offices until pardoned by Congress, and invalidated the Confederate war debts. This Amendment must be ratified in each Southern State before its government should be recognized by Congress. At the same time a committee reported that the governments in the Southern States were practically suspended and that those States could not be re-instated in the Union until they should give pledges of their loyalty. This vir-

tually ignored President Johnson's plans of restoration. It was a challenge by Congress. He accepted the issue. From this time on the fight between Congress and the Executive was open and bitter. It culminated in the impeachment of President Johnson and, says Mr. Dunning, "the single vote by which Andrew Johnson escaped conviction, marks the narrow margin by which the presidential element in our system escaped destruction."*

In October the Southern States began to reject the Fourteenth Amendment. This prepared the way for the famous Reconstruction Act of March, 1867. Under the provisions of this law the Southern States, with the exception of Tennessee, which had been recognized, were divided into five military districts, whose commanders were to be appointed by the President. These commanders were to enroll in each state all male citizens of one year's residence not disqualified to vote by crime or the Fourteenth Amendment. These citizens were to elect members for State conventions. These conventions were to extend the franchise to all classes permitted to vote for the convention and form constitutions. These constitutions were to be submitted to Congress, and if approved the States were admitted to representation and declared in the Union, provided the first General Assembly meeting after the adoption of the Constitution should endorse the Fourteenth Amendment.

This, briefly, is an outline of the Congressional plan of Reconstruction. An extended examination of all its relations to Southern history, and especially to that of North Carolina, is here impossible. That is a work greater than the limits of these papers allow, a work much needed, as yet undone. A volume might be written on phases of Reconstruction in North Carolina and as much be left unsaid. As time and space are passing, only those topics

*Studies in Civil War and Reconstruction.—*W. A. Dunning.*

that relate most intimately to Governor Holden's policy will be discussed.

General Daniel E. Sickles was appointed Commander of the Second Military District, composed of North and South Carolina. His headquarters were Charleston. On the day he assumed command, March 21, 1867, he issued a proclamation in sympathy with the principles of the Reconstruction Acts. The government of North Carolina was declared provisional and subject to Congress. Local laws were allowed to be enforced when not contrary to the Union, and cases of neglect of civil officers were to be reported to the Commander. In April, General Sickles removed two policemen in Wilmington for lack of discretion in making arrests and violence in discharging their duties This and similar acts by other commanders caused the Attorney-General to publish an opinion that the Reconstruction Acts did not give the commanders power to supersede the civil law. General Sickles regarded this as an impeachment of his administration and resigned. His resignation was not accepted. Next he forbade Sheriffs to execute civil process in the sale of property. In North Carolina the Sheriff was about to disobey the order, when he was stopped by special order of Sickles. Finally the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and Chief Justice Chase decided that "the military authority does not extend in any respect to the courts of the United States." General Sickles in the meantime ordered a registration of voters as required by Congress. Before the plans of Congress could be carried out, General Sickles was removed and General Canby was appointed commander.* Under his administration voters registered, the members of the convention were elected, the first instance of negro suffrage in North Carolina, the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, and a new Constitution was framed, which

*"Three Decades of Federal Legislation." - *Cox.*

was called the "Canby Constitution." This began a reorganization of the State government according to the provisions of the new Constitution. In 1868 elections were held and, as the negroes went to the poles, seven Representatives were sent to Congress who belonged to the Union or Republican party. The Governorship was from this time on a four years' office. The candidates were Thomas Ashe, Democrat, and Holden, supported by the Republicans. Holden was elected by over eighteen thousand majority. Thus was kept the vow made by the chilled newsboy a quarter-century before. The well educated, finely clothed young man who had condescended to butter a biscuit for an apprentice no doubt keenly felt the irony of fate, when the election returns were published and approved by General Canby. Let us review briefly the political career of the Governor-elect.

Born in obscurity, by perseverance and industry he gradually rose to some local prominence in old Whig circles. When his brethren in Whiggery were unaware, he joined the Democrats, and in a few years became one of the leaders in the Free Suffrage campaigns which struck the death blow to the supremacy of the old aristocracy. An elderly lady whose mind is ripe with the memories of our ante bellum history, says that his alliance with the "scalawag Democrats" lost for him social recognition in Whig circles. He was ostracised by the professed leaders of North Carolina's "blue veins." How much more bitter must that ostracism have become in the days of Free Suffrage agitation! An ardent admirer of Calhoun, those who knew Holden's influence as "one who could kill and make alive," declare that he was the strongest State's-right man in Carolina. His lines on the death of Calhoun must be be classed with the best poems written in the State. Then his views changed. He became a Union-Douglas Democrat and stood for the Union till the last, and finally signed the Ordinance of Secession. He was reconciled to many of

his old enemies, the best of relations were established with his old rivals, and then he joined the "Peace men," and opposed Vance and the continuation of the war. Old wounds were opened. When the war closed, it was the hope of the Southern leaders to reorganize and continue the State governments as they were in the days before Secession. What must have been the chagrin of the survivors of the old system in North Carolina when Holden, their arch enemy, who had so often supported and as often opposed them, was made Provisional Governor! They had been conquered, but they could not submit to all the dictates of the conqueror. Holden had been appointed Provisional Governor undoubtedly because of Johnson's sympathy for him. Both had begun life in similar circumstances and had worked to success slowly, but surely. Nothing was more natural than that Holden should be selected to represent the Union in the reorganization of civil authority just after the cessation of hostilities. Nothing was more natural than that those whose lives were so inextricably bound to the legends of former days, should rise and defeat him who dared disregard their traditions. When the monster does not down at their bidding, but is victorious in a popular election, all the discontent breaks forth in one demonstration of despair. This is the protest of Worth, the retiring Governor, which he presented to the Governor-elect when the keys to the Executive office were surrendered. It reads as follows:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
RALEIGH, July 1, 1868.

Gov. W. W. Holden, Raleigh, N. C.:

SIR:—Yesterday morning I was verbally notified by Chief Justice Pearson that in obedience to a telegram from General Canby, he would to-day, at 10 a m., administer to you the oath required preliminary to your entering upon the discharge of the duties of *Civil Governor* of the State; and that, therefore, you would demand possession of my office.

I intimated to the Judge my opinion that such proceeding was premature, even under the Reconstruction legislation of Congress, and that I should probably decline to surrender the office to you.

At sundown, yesterday evening, I received from Colonel Williams, Commandant of this Military Post, an extract from the General Order No. 120, of General Canby, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT,
CHARLESTON, S. C., June 30, 1868.

General Order No. 120.

[EXTRACT.]

"To facilitate the organization of the new State governments, the following appointments are made: To be Governor of North Carolina, W. W. Holden *vice* Jonathan Worth, removed; to be Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina, Tod. R. Caldwell, Lieutenant-Governor elect, to fill an original vacancy—to take effect July 1, 1868, on the meeting of the General Assembly of North Carolina."

I do not recognize the validity of the late election under which you, and those co-operating with you, claim to be invested with the Civil government of the State. You have no evidence of your election, save a certificate of a Major-General of the United States Army.

I regard all of you as, in effect, appointees of the Military power of the United States, and not as "deriving your powers from the consent of those you claim to govern." Knowing, however, that you are backed by military force here, which I could not resist if I would, I do not deem it necessary to offer a futile opposition, but vacate the office, without the ceremony of actual eviction, offering no further opposition than this my protest.

I would submit to actual expulsion in order to bring before the Supreme Court of the United States the question as to the constitutionality of the legislation under which you claim to be the rightful Governor of the State, if the past action of that tribunal furnished any hope of a speedy trial. I surrender the office to you under what I consider military duress, without stopping, as the occasion would well justify, to comment upon the singular coincidence, that the present State government is surrendered *as without legality*, to *him* whose own official sanction, but three years ago, *declared it valid.*

I am, very respectfully,

JONATHAN WORTH,
Governor of North Carolina.

The opposition begun on the very day of the inaugural continued throughout the administration. The *Standard* was the organ of Governor Holden, and the *Sentinel*, edited by Josiah Turner, led the fight of the discontented enemies of the government. The partisanship of the press has lost the charm of the forties. The reader no longer catches the spirit of artless, almost juvenile enthusiasm, which gave to the most sarcastic editorials a tone of healthy humanism. One feels that the times have radically

changed. The fight is now one of life and death; he who once falls shall enter the conflict no more.

Only two phases of Governor Holden's administration will here be discussed. They are the famous Reconstruction Frauds and the Kirk Holden War against the Ku Klux. The former was the work of "carpet-baggers" and conscienceless citizens of the State. The latter was the harsh remedy for insubordination to civil authority as revealed in the Ku Klux outrages, and finally resulted in the impeachment of the Executive.

The frauds were connected with the issue of bonds. George W. Swepson, a banker and citizen of Raleigh, made the following statement to the Investigating Committee in 1871: As President of the Western Division of the Western North Carolina Railroad, he was desirous of securing the aid of the State in the construction of his road. The State promised to subscribe two-thirds of the stock for the construction of the road, provided the other third was raised by private subscription. The Company certified to the Board of Improvements that the necessary third had been raised. The Company then turned to the Legislature. Mr. Swepson was told by Littlefield and Dewesse, lobby lawyers, who had great influence with the Legislature, that the Company could not receive the appropriation without paying them ten per centum in kind of the appropriation. This was the amount charged to lobby through the claims of the Company. Mr. Swepson accepted the proposition, the Legislature issued bonds to the amount required, and Littlefield and Dewesse received $241,000 for their services. The Chatham Railroad Company sold to Littlefield $100,000 worth of stock on a credit of ninety days, when the bonds were worth sixty-five cents cash in New York. The President of the Wilmington and Tarboro Road paid $10,000 for a charter. These are only a few of the many outrages committed. In the investigations no charges were preferred against Governor Holden.

Though the Legislature that issued the bonds has received a shadowy reputation, Holden's name is free from any illegal or dishonorable relation with the bonds. In 1876, in the *Weekly Constitution*, he makes the following statement:

"I solemnly declare that I never performed any act while Governor or signed my name with a view to reward or the hope of reward, and I never received a bribe from any one for any of my acts as Governor. . . . I had no veto power as Governor. I did not pass the bills to issue the bonds. I never appealed to any member of the Legislature to vote for these bills. The Presidents and Directors of the various Railways did not come to me for these bonds but to the Treasurer who had the bonds printed, and who first signed them and then turned them over to me to be signed, and to have the great seal of the State impressed upon them by my Private Secretary. I gave the bonds in strict accordance with law, for the issuing of all the bonds save the last batch $6,666,000 to the Wesiern Railroad. The authority to issue these bonds was devolved upon the treasurer in the last amended charter and he hesitated for two or three weeks as to whether he would order plates and have them printep; but I encouraged him to do it because I wanted the Western people to have those bands, and I was willing to stretch the law a little to let shem hvae them; and I will state furthermore that I bevieve the Treasurer was finally convtnced that he could legally and properly issue these bonds, by an argument submitted to him by Hon. A. S. Merriman. One of Mr. Swepson's counsel. . . . And I will state further, that the Treasurer and myself could not decide to issue any bonds until we had gone before the Supreme Court in in ormal session and ascertained for them, distinctly and clearly, what bonds were constitutional and what were not."

If there could have been only evidence against Governor Holden in regard to the bonds, it would surely have been brought before the Senate in his Impeachment. But no charge was made at that time. Whatever may be said of his administraqion, he was far better than many of his colleagues who have tried to make him responsible in the eyes of the public for their many misdemeanors.

In regard to the Ku Klux in North Carolina, aa well as in other Southern States, much has been written. The organization made its appearance in the State in 1867 and 1868, at the same time that the Reconstruction Acts went into effect. It may be regarded as a revolt against the new system. There were many reasons that demanded the

complete emancipation of the negro and made it necessary that that the race should have the right of suffrage. It is not my purpose to discuss these. But that the better class of the white race were excluded from citizenship while all of the freedmen were admitted without limitation, was unjust. Yet nothing else could have resulted from the general trend of events. The institution of the secret Klans may be considered a desperate but unwise and illegal resistance to the new political conditions that faced the Southern people. All restrictions for past offences have been removed but the problem is still existing and the temper with which the solution is sought will be the supreme test the fibre of the nation. In many sections a Ku Klux revival would not be impossible or unpopular. Shall this spirit dominate the relations of the two races, or shall one of charity and mutual sympathy control our actions?

Just as the Ku Klux was opposed to the methods of Reconstruction, the Union League was an association to support the laws and train the negro in the duties of citizenship. It was organized during the last days of the Confederacy. Holden was the President of the League until his election. He then severed his relations with the organization for he believed that no public officer should belong to any secret political order. The ritual of the League was full of officious ceremonies formulated to impress the members with the solemnity and dignity of the organization. The "emblems" were an altar, Bible, Declaration of Independence, a Union Flag, Censer of Insense, Sword, Gavel, Ballot-box, and a sickle, shuttle or an anvil to represent industry. The pledge of membership was, "To obtain and perpetuate Freedom, Political equality and an individual Union, I pledge my life, my fortune, and my social honor, so help me God." The League was virtually an organization to support the Republican party. Whatever may be said of its workings, this fact distin-

guishes it from the Ku Klux. It was not an armed society; the Ku Klux was. The League seems to have caused no anxiety or disturbance among the whites until 1867, when, under the influence of the carpet-baggers, the members became insolent and in many cases committed offenses which were not punished by law. This, said General Forrest before the Congressional Committee on Investigation, caused the whites to organize the Ku Klux Klan.

PART V.—SUPPRESSION OF THE KU KLUX—CONCLUSION.

The Ku Klux Klan, according to the testimony of David Schenck before the Congressional Committee on Investigation, was opposed in its very constitution to the Fourteenth Amendment. So the Klan appeared in North Carolina as soon as the Reconstruction acts went into effect. Within three months after his inauguration, Governor Holden issued a Proclamation in which he stated that the government then in force was constitutionally established and warned the people of the sure results of any attempt to subvert the civil authority, and called on the magistrates and sheriffs to be faithful in the discharge of their duties. This address was of no avail. Negroes were whipped and disorder and demoralization were general. The Legislature which met early in 1869 enacted a law, "making the act of going masked, disguised or painted a felony." The governor isued another appeal, invoking public sentiment to unite with him in the suppression of the outrages. Neither the law nor the proclamation had any influence. In January, 1870, a bill passed the Legislature which authorized the Governor, "whenever in his judgment the civil authorities in any county are unable to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of life and property, to declare such county to be in a state of insurrection, and to call into active service the militia of the State to such an extent as may become necessary to suppress such insurrection; and

in such case the Governor is further authorized to call upon the President for such assistance, if any, as in his judgment may be necessary to enforce the law." This was called the Shoffner Act from T. M. Shoffner, of Alamance County, the member who introduced the bill. He brought upon himself the enmity of the Ku Klux Klan. The Ku Klux decided to hang him and send his body to Governor Holden. The assassins were on their way to execute the decree but were persuaded to return, as a Ku Klux friend of Shoffner's who knew of the plans had taken him to Greensboro. A short time after Shoffner left the State. Who the men were who started on the deadly mission has not been revealed. They were not Shoffner's neighbors, but came from a distance. The one who took him to Geensboro was Eli S. Eustis, a school teacher.

A short time after the passage of the Shoffner Bill, a band of fifty or more Ku Klux entered the town of Graham by night, went to the house of Wyatt Outlaw, colored, seized him, and hanged him to a tree in the public square near the court house. The only offence of the negro was that he belonged to the Republican party and was chief officer of the League at Graham. A half-witted colored man named Puryear professed to know the particulars of Outaw's murder. In a few days he was missed and after several weeks his body was found in a mill pond with a rock tied to the neck.

Another outrage in Alamance was the whipping of Corliss, a school teacher. He seems to have belonged to that class of well-meaning Northern men who came South in the interests of the negro and humanity but lacked tact and common sense. For his associations with the negro he was severely scourged. Many other whippings occurred in Alamance county.

In Caswell County, from April to the middle of May 1870, twenty-one persons, white and colored, were whipped and scourged. Robin Jacobs, colored, was murdered in

May and in the same month John Walter Stevens, Republican Senator from Caswell, was murdered in the Courthouse at Yanceyville, while a Democratic speaking was held in the same building. Mr. Stevens was the leader of his party in the county, a man of integrity and excellent ability. No excuse could be given for his assassination except his political affiliations. For a long time the Democrats declared that he was murdered by order of Holden and his friends, who were jealous of his influence among the negroes. Later investigations have proven, almost beyond a doubt, that the assassination was the work of the Ku Klux.

These are only a few of the many instances of murder and active violations of law in the State. By June 1870, thirteen persons had been murdered, twenty-two whipped and one shot who recovered. In no case were the offenders brought to justice. Solicitors and judges testified to Governor Holden that it was impossible to convict men charged with these crimes. The grand juries could find no true bills. The reasons for this were that the members of the Klan were sworn to protect each other and often members of the grand jury as well as the sheriffs were members of the society, and sentences passed by one local chapter or den were executed by another chapter. In this way a Klan in Alamance might order a negro to be whipped and the order would be executed by a Klan in some adjoining county or distant township.

About this time, Mr. John W. Norwood called on Governor Holden. In the conversation, Governor Holden intimated that if a number of prominent citizens in any county would recommend some one of influence to canvas the county in the interest of law and order and thereby persuade the Ku Klux to disband, he (the Governor) would appoint that one as a representative of the law and grant him a captain's commission. On March 5, 1870, J. W. Norwood, James Webb and Henry K. Nash and others

recommended Dr. Pride Jones, of Hillsboro, for this work in Orange. He was appointed and received the commission and pay of a captain in the United States Army. In Chatham, N. A. Ramsey received a similar commission. These gentlemen did great good in their counties. They assumed no military superiority, but went quietly through the counties examining the condition of the people, and succeeded in suppressing the Ku Klux outrages. That this policy worked so well in these counties may suggest the question, why a similar course was not pursued in Alamance and Caswell and other counties where disorder prevailed. The reason was that in Alamance and Caswell the Ku Klux were more numerous, many of the public officials were members of the Klan, and for one to know the agent of the Governor meant certain peril. At least no one was recommended or volunteered to do the work that Ramsey and Jones undertook in Chatham and Orange. No one, however much he may condemn Governor Holden's policy towards Alamance and Caswell, can fall to symathize with him. There was no precedent for him to follow, and no one advised him or came to his help as friend or councillor except those of his own party. In 1876, he said:

"In the earnest and long protracted efforts which I made to put down these disorders without resort to military force—efforts extending from the day of my inauguration to the first of July 1870, thus covering a space of tow years—I wrote to many sheriffs, to some judges, to many military officers, to mayors of towns, to many private citizens, to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, to President Grant, asking them for advice and help in the unwelcome work devolved upon me of protecting the defenceless and unoffending against outrage and murder, and in putting down an insurrection which threatened the stability of all government, and the peace, if not the very existence of society. . . . No ex-Governor of the State called upon me to aid me by suggestions or advice in the midst of troubles that shook the very State. No minister of the blessed Lord dropped into my office or my house to pray for me, to restrain me by advice, or to sustain me by words of cheer in the dark and difficult path I felt bound to tread."

None of the proclamations of the Governor were of any influence in Alamance and Caswell. So on July 8, 1870,

in accordance with the provisions of the Shoffner Act, Governor Holden declared these counties to be in a state of insurrection. He then began the organization of the militia to invest the two counties. This was not done, as many have maintained, with any malice or ill-will. In fact Governor Holden's views were lenient when compared with those of some members of his party. Before the military organization was effected, Governor Holden held a conference with the leading men of the administration in his office. There were thirteen present, among them Richard Badger, John Pool, J. H. Harris (col.) and General Wilie D. Jones. All agreed that the civil courts failed to suppress the Ku Klux and unless some action were taken at once, no Republican, white or black, could live in certain portions of the State. The military power was necessary. "Governor Holden," says Mr. Badger, "during most of the conference was a listener, and appeared to be anxious to hear suggestions. I sat near him during the entire conference and at every suggestion made by any person he appealed to me either by look, gesture or word, for my opinion in regard to it." Mr. Badger agreed that military occupation and arrests were necessary but maintained that the trials of the arrested should be by a civil; not military court. Mr. Pool said this would not accomplish the object and called attention to Governor Clayton, of Arkansas, who had occupied districts with militia, and tried and executed men and so had broken the Ku Klux in his State. Mr. Badger opposed this method and finally Mr. Pool agreed with him. Mr. Badger said that the writ of *habeas corpus* must not be disobeyed. Mr. Pool said that that was a bad policy, the *habeas corpus* should not be regarded, that if a person were cleared of one charge, he should immediately be arrested on another. Mr. Pool also suggested that D. McD Lindsay be made military commander, that he had been a pirate during the war, and told stories of his daring and cruelty. This was over-

ruled by the other members. Many other similar propositions were introduced in the discussions. "All of these suggestions with regard to using such violent means were objected to by Governor Holden," says Mr. Badger.

It was decided to organize two regiments of volunteers. Colonel Wm. J. Clark was given command of the First Regiment, with headquarters in Raleigh. The command of the Second Regiment was offered to Major W. W. Rol lins, of Asheville. He declined, but suggested Colonel George W. Kirk. Colonel Kirk was then appointed, and at Kirk's request, one Bergen was made Lieutenant Colonel. Bergen and Kirk had fought with the Union Army during the last years of the war, and had won the usual reputation, merited or unmerited, of all Southern men who joined the Union cause. It is here impossible to go into details of the campaign that followed the famous Kirk-Holden war. No battles were fought, no blood was shed. It has been claimed that the Governor instituted the military organization in July in order that he might control the coming elections in August. Colonel James Boyd and Mr. W. R. Albright testified in the Impeachment that Governor Holden told them that in the military organization he cared not how the election went. His desire was to suppress the Ku Klux by any means, and any effort he might make would more than repay the labor required if thereby one more crime might be averted. In his memoirs Governor Holden says that he desired to commence military operations two months earlier, but that there were no funds in the treasury that could be used for that purpose, and as soon as D. A. Jenkins, the treasurer, notified him that there were sufficient funds at hand, he commenced the organization of the militia.

Kirk and Bergen raised about six hundred men. The militia law of the State was not strictly obeyed in the mustering, as the law required that negroes and white men be mustered in different regiments, and Kirk allowed

whites and negroes to serve in the same regiment. Many citizens were arrested, mostly at Graham and Company Shops. These were marched to Yanceyville and imprisoned. A. G. Moore and others appealed to Chief Justice Pearson for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This was granted by Pearson, but Kirk refused to obey, saying that the judiciary had "played out," and he held the prisoners under orders of the Governor. Pearson then wrote his opinion of the case, sent it to Governor Holden, saying that if the Executive chose to obey the writ, well; if not, nothing could be done—the power of the judiciary was exhausted and all responsibility for the prisoners rested with the Governor. He said he was following the example of Chief Justice Taney in Merriman's case in 1861. In that case General George Cadwalader, commander of Fort McHenry, refused to obey the *habeas corpus* writ. Chief Justice Taney ruled that Congress alone had the power to put aside the *habeas corpus*, but also said that he could do nothing with Cadwalader, as Cadwalader's power was too strong for him. The point in North Carolina was this, according to Pearson. The Legislature had given the Governor authority to declare counties in insurrection. The military was then more powerful than the civil officials. The military might obey the writ, but was not required so to do. The writ was, therefore, virtually suspended.

The prisoner then appealed to the United States District Judge, George W. Brooks. The Governor then asked President Grant to sustain his position. But the Federal authorities decided that Brooks could not refuse to issue the writ, and advised "that the State authorities yield to the United States judiciary." This subordinated the military to the civil power and virtually ended the campaign. The regiments were disbanded. But the serious state of affairs awakened the Ku Klux to their senses. The organization speedily disbanded.

In the meantime the elections had been held. Troops were sent to some counties to preserve order. The returns gave the Democrats a majority. In the winter of 1871 they met and decided to impeach the Governor for his conduct. The following charges were preferred:

Art. I. That the Governor, "unmindful of the high duties of his office" and "intending to stir up civil war, and subvert personal and public liberty," did, "of his own false, corrupt and wicked mind and purpose," declare the county of Alamance in insurrection, and by armed force made arrests. (The names of those arrested in Alamance are here given.)

Art. II. Same as above, in regard to Caswell.

Art. III. Arrest of Josiah Turner, of Orange, without any cause.

Art. IV. The arrest of certain citizens of Caswell by Kirk and Bergen, by orders of Governor.

Art. V. The arrest of A. G. Moore and refusal to obey writ of *habeas corpus* in his case.

Art. VI. Arrest of others and refusal to obey writ of *habeas corpus.*

Art. VII. Use of State funds to support the unlawful military organizations.

Art. VIII. The refusal to obey the writ of injunction issued at the instance of Richard M. Allison protesting against the use of the State's taxes in the military campaign.

A ninth article, charging the Governor with complicity in the Reconstruction frauds, was about to be introduced, but George W. Swepson telegraphed the members who had the drafting of the charges, that Governor Holden was innocent, and if they insisted on introducing the charge, he (Swepson) would come down from New York and testify in the Governor's favor. The charge was then dropped.

These articles were introduced in the Senate from the

House. The Senate organized as a high court, and the House took in hand the prosecution. The managers for the prosecution were Thomas Sparrow, chairman, James G. Scott, Wm. G. Worth, T. D. Johnson, G. H. Gregory, Jno. W. Dunham, and C. W. Broadfoot. These gentlemen employed as prosecutors for the House, ex-Governors W. A. Graham and Thomas Bragg and A. S. Merriman, late Chief Justice. No appropriation was allowed Governor Holden to secure counsel. He was compelelled to pay his own lawyers and in some instances to pay the expenses of his own witnesses. This was not only partisan but unjust. He secured the services of W. N. H. Smith, later Chief Justice, Nathaniel Boyden, J. M. McCorkle, Edward Conigland and Richard Badger. Mr. Badger refused any remuneration for his services. The trial really began on January 30, 1871. The articles were introduced in December of the previous year but time had to be allowed for the collection of evidence. The burden of the prosecution was the *habeas corpus*. Was it suspended by military action? This and other questions involved held the attention of the court, presided over by Chief Justice Pearson, for forty-four days. The result was that Governor Holden was found guilty of all except the first two charges, and the Senate adjudged that "the said W. W. Holden, Governor, be deposad from office and found disqualified from holding any office of profit or trust in the State."

It is not my purpose to enter into any detailed account of the Impeachment and the legal question involved, and the argument of the prosecution and counsel. That would require a knowledge of legal history that few of our best jurists have. But this fact must be felt by every one who reads the proceedings in an unbiased spirit—that whether the Governor was guilty or not guilty, the trial was conducted in the most partisan spirit. The defendant's chances for acquittal were limited by a decision excluding

all testimony regarding the Ku Klux except that relating to Alamance and Caswell. Also whenever there was an uncertain issue, nine times out of ten the Senate would overrule the decision of Chief Justice Pearson and decide in favor of the prosecution. In this, Senator Edwards was prominent, for he always made the motion appealing from the Chief Justice to the Senate. Also the evidence for the prosecution was often doubtful, for example—Josiah Turner was arrested without the order of Governor Holden. No order could be shown for his arrest. Yet the Governor was convicted of this charge. And Mr. Turner when examined made the following statements:

Q. What are your personal feelings toward the accused? A. I suppose as good as they ever were.

Q. That is not exactly answering my question—what are they now? A. They are just as good as they ought to be between a good and a bad man.

Chief Justice. Are you on good or bad terms with him? A. There are no terms between us. I have never passed a dozen words with him in my life. I never had any social relations with him. I never passed a dozen words with him in my life—hardly a good morning."

In his memoirs Governor Holden states that he supported Mr. Turner when candidate for the Confederate Congress, that Mr. Turner visited him in Raleigh, where they planned the campaign and separated the best of friends.

Also two Republican Senators were expelled and Democrats elected to fill their vacancies. One of these was Edwards, above referred to, one of the chief tools of the prosecution. On the day the final vote was taken, says ex-Governor Brogdon, two Democratic Senators were so drunk that they had to be led into the Senate chamber and supported by marshalls until their votes, which were necessary for conviction, were taken.

Through all the proceedings, Governor Holden conducted himself with dignity and and honor. He refused to be a party to any method of self-preservation, save the small chance given by the prosecution. In his manuscript I find the following statements:

"One morning, in the Spring of 1870, Chief Justice Pearson called to see me at my house. We conversed a good while. Among other things he said that the Senate of this State has been chosen for four years and he could prove it beyond question. He said he hoped I would concur with and would aid him in a case to be made up by the Supreme Court. I was surprised at the suggestions. The proposition was to me a new one. I had not thought of it but I said to him, 'Judge, the people in voting for the Constitution, no doubt believed that they were voting two years for the Senate and not for four—and besides it is written the different departments of the government should be kept always separate and distinct, and according to their rule I could not concur with the court.' He seemed to be, as he no doubt was, profoundly in earnest. The Senate was at that time two-thirds Republican. It was the first Senate under the Constitution. I did not think of the matter any more until I was impeached.

"Mr. Brogden said to me one day, "Governor, I am advised to say, that if you would use your influence with the Legislature to call a Convention the Impeachment proceedings will be stopped. I told Mr. Brogden, 'I am the first Governor under the new Constitution and can not support a Convention to amend the Constitution at this time. The Constitution has not yet been tried. 'I could not do evil that good might come.' He seemed preplexed and troubled and said, 'I am disposed to think well of the Constitution generally, but it ought to be amended, but you are too careful and squeamish for your own good.' I went that day over to the lobby of the House of Representatives, and met Dr. Thomas W. Young, my brother-in-law and a member of the House who said, 'Governor, we want to call a Convention and lack but eight or ten votes of doing so. What will you say?' I answered, 'Doctor, I can't agree to the arrangement to call a Convention on my account.' He said, 'We can do it

in both Houses if you will agree to it.' I said, 'No, I can't do it.' ''

After his Impeachment, Governor Holden removed to Washington, and was connected with the *National Chronicle.* He finally returned to Raleigh where he was Postmaster for a number of years.

So ends the public life of W. W. Holden. In many respects he is the most unique man in North Carolina history. He is the only Governor in the United States that was ever deposed from office. His trial is a slur on the history of the party that conducted it—still greater is the shame that his disabilities were never removed. Much has been said of Reconstruction and negro rule. But Mr. Holden never recognized the negro as an equal of the white, though he was compelled to protect him. He left the Republican party in 1880 when the negro question was becoming dominant, and his party seemed to be identified with the negro.

The final verdict in regard to his political life remains to be made in the future. But this must forever remain to his credit. He was one of the leaders in the Revolution of 1848 and 1850 that placed all citizens on an equal suffrage basis and so struck the final blow to the only aristocracy.

Whatever may be our judgment of him politically, as a journalist he is the peer of any North Carolina has ever produced. When we consider his literary ability we cannot but lament the fact that one who possessed such brilliant possibilities was compelled to spend his life at the case and press and make his livelihood as a politician. As testimony to his literary tastes I give this extract from Mr. J. H. Bonner to T. H. Hill:

"I remember one stormy autumn night—I think it was in 1865—he and I sat alone by a smouldering log fire in the rear room of the old *Standard* office. We fell to talking about poetry, as was generally the case when we were alone, and I chanced to have in my pocket a copy of your first book. I read to him your "Fireside Fancies." This drew him out, and in return he recited for me several of his own pieces which, so far as I know, have

never appeared in print. I can only recall now a portion of the refrain of one of them. It was this:

> ——"who can tell
> Where the lone spirit went when
> the frail body fell!"

Gov. Holden had fine poetic taste; he was a good critic, though inclined to favor religious verse. Milton was his poet. He was familiar with the English Classics.

"How old am I growing! More than thirty years have passed since I first became acquainted with Governor Holden. I was then in my sixteenth year, and I gratefully remember the kind and gracious manner and tone with which he greeted me. From that day to the end of his life we were warm friends. We exchanged letters quite frequently up to the time of his paralytic disablement. In '83, when my book of poems was published he managed to write a few tremulous lines expressive of his loyalty of friendship—only ten lines, in which he said; 'If I had the physical strength, John, it would give me peculiar pleasure to review your poems in some North Carolina paper.'"

During the stormy days of "reconstruction," when I held a State office which necessitated frequent business interviews with him, I have seen him calmly endure enough mental and nervous strain to wreck a man of steel. As Jo. and I had come to be chums, the Governor regarded me with real fatherly affection. Often when I was about to retire from the Executive chamber because of the presence of important personages with secret affairs, he would bid me remain. I know much of his unpublished history, and I make bold to say that I believe he always *intended* to do right. After many a critical scene, when the last visitor had withdrawn, and the door had been locked for the day, he has unbosomed himself to me and avowed his purpose to do right. And he at least had the courage of his convictions. He was a brave man. First of all, he was a gentleman. Personal assaults upon him were not infrequent, but he was never harmed. He never carried a weapon. I was once near him, on Fayetteville street, when a malignant man leveled a pistol at his breast. The Governor was always alert. Quick as a flash, he struck the pistol from the assailant's hand with his cane. Instead of following up his advantage with a blow, the Governor, apparently without loss of temper or composure, said to him: "Shame on you, sir!" There was no further trouble.

Though his life was stormy, his enemies always malignant, he showed the greatest charity. He aided in having amnesty to the Ku Klux proclaimed two or three years after his impeachment. His last years were filled with charitable work in Raleigh. He was the friend of the poor of the city, visited them and aided them in their troubles. He, on every available occasion, said he cherished no spirit

of resentment against those who had opposed him. He died in March, 1892. During the last months of his life he dictated his memoirs, written by his daughter. This manuscript is remarkable for the clearness with which everything is stated, though he was then paralyzed and feeble. In conclusion I quote the last section of his "last letter to the public:"

"We live in altered, in new times. The events of the past and the condition of things in the present, warn us of the paramount importance of law and order. There is no safety to society save the reign of law. I have always held that as a citizen and as an officer. I hold it still, with added tenacity, if possible. The paramount thought with all public officers should be, what is my duty, not what the crowd or the mobs, or bodies of friends desire or advise, but what is right now, without regard to party. George Washington himself warns us against the fatal danger of party spirit. General Andrew Jackson does the same. Their farewell addresses are invaluable. General Jackson once said to Colonel Bedford Brown: 'Colonel Brown, you will live to see a great civil war in this country about slavery. I will not live to see it, but I put you on your guard. The tariff has been proclaimed by Duff Green too weak to divide the Union, but he says slavery is strong enough to do it. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Preston make speeches for the South and against the North, and the North in turn assails the South. One side cuts the wood and lays it down, and the other side sets fire to it. If this sectional feeling is continued I fear the worst.' Jackson and Washington were wise and forecasting. We now have a restored Union. It is the strongest government on the face of the earth . . . The States are not only powerful and never will be. The rights of the States are dead. I simply state facts. I do not say who did this thing or that thing. I speak only of results.

"Mr. Webster said in one of his great speeches in the Senate, that if the pillars of the Union should fall, 'they would be raised not again.' It is not the same Union and it never will be.

"Pass on, relentless world, I grieve
No more at all that thou hast riven—
Pass on, in God's name only leave
The things thou never yet hast given;
A heart at ease, a mind at home,
Affections fixed above thy sway,
Faith, set upon a world to come,
And patience thro' life's little day.

"The public's most obedient servant,
"W. W. HOLDEN."

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